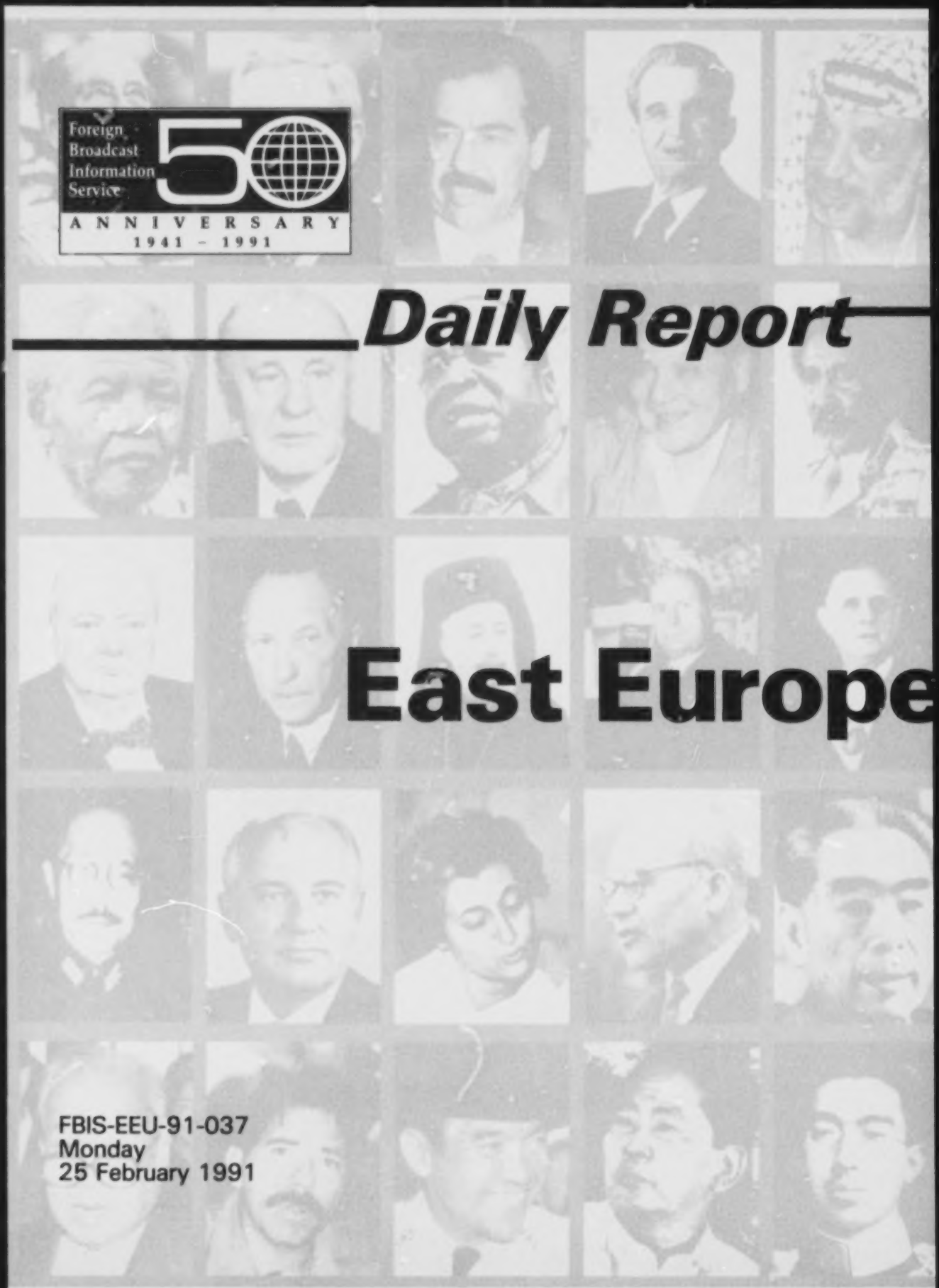

Daily Report

East Europe

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Monday
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FBIS-EEU-91-037 *25 February 1991*

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President Alia Establishes New Government

AU2202200291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 91

["Decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the Appointment of the Council of Ministers," issued in Tirana on 22 February]

[Text] To solve the governmental problems that have been created by the country's serious political and economic situation and to ensure appropriate conditions for the normal conduct of the 31 March elections, and on the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decides:

1. To accept the resignation of the Council of Ministers chaired by Comrade Adil Carcani.

2. To appoint a provisional Council of Ministers with the following membership:
a. Fatos Thanas Nano, chairman of the Council of Ministers, born 1952.
b. Shkelqim Islam Cani, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, born 1956.
c. Aleks Ilo Luarasi, general secretary of the Council of Ministers, born 1941.
d. Muhamet Ismail Kapllani, minister of foreign affairs, born 1943.
e. Kico Jani Mustaqi, minister of people's defense, born 1938.
f. Gramoz [name indistinct] (?Rufai), minister of internal affairs, born 1951.
g. Dashamir Beta Shkore, minister of justice, born 1953.
h. Leontiev Skender Cuci, chairman of the State Planning Commission, born 1952.
i. Drini Bedri Mezini, minister of industry, mines, and energy, born 1946.
j. Qemal Vehbi Disha, minister of finance, born 1951.
k. Ylli Sokrat Bufi, ministry of food and light industry, born 1948.
l. Ahmet Maliq Osja, minister of agriculture, born 1939.
m. Shani Shefqet Korbeci, minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation with foreign countries, born 1942.
n. Altin Hamdi Ylli, minister of domestic trade, born 1946.
o. Leonard Jorgji Nano, ministry of construction, born 1945.
p. Salvador Ndre Franja, minister of transportation, born 1940.
q. Kastriot Selman Islami, minister of education, born 1952.
r. Sabit Laze Broka, minister of health, born 1942.
s. Zyli Beqir Pepa, chairman of the State Control Commission, born 1946.

3. This decree comes into effect imediately.

Tirana, 22 February 1991. Decree No. 7,469. For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

[Signed] Ramiz Alia, president; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Presidential Council Formed; Members Named

AU2202213991 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 91

["Decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the Creation of the Presidential Council," issued in Tirana on 22 February]

[Text] Considering the serious political and economic situation created in recent days because of certain acts of vandalism and irresponsibility that have also created difficulties both in governing the country and maintaining public order, with the aim of defending national freedom, independence, and sovereignty and securing the management of the state on the basis of the unity of the people, on the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decrees:

1. The creation of a Presidential Council under the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

2. The task of the Presidential Council is to consider the most urgent matters to overcome difficulties created by the serious political and economic situation, proposing the necessary measures and approving the necessary acts.

3. The Presidential Council consists of the following members:
1. Fatos Nano, prime minister, veteran academic worker.
2. Kleanthi Koci, president of the Supreme Court.
3. Kico Blushi, writer.
4. Haxhi Lleshi, former president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.
5. Lufter Xhuveli, professor, doctor of sciences.
6. Rexhep Mejdani, professor, doctor of sciences.
7. Minella Dalani, journalist.
8. Xhenet Muco, soldier.

4. This decree comes into effect imediately.

[Dated] Tirana, 22 February 1991. Decree No. 7,468. For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

[Signed] President Ramiz Alia; Secretary Sihat Tozaj

Warns of 'National Scale Tragedy'

AU2202205091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Statement by the Presidential Council issued in Tirana on 22 February]

[Text] The recently formed Presidential Council addresses a call to all our patriotic people to devote all their energies to preserving and defending our beloved

homeland from the dangers that threaten it today from outside and within. The situation has been and remains serious. The wave of vandalism that has taken place and is taking place in Tirana and some other towns has shaken order and public peace. National freedom and sovereignty have never been under such a threat as today. The most serious acts have been committed in public places against monuments of national history, with major and shocking consequences for every Albanian patriot. A greater disaster could take place. Those who struck against Enver Hoxha in fact wanted bloodshed, a national scale tragedy, fratricide among the Albanian people, and the destruction of Albania. Let us, therefore, keep cool heads, and not fall into such (?traps.) These bitter events are a major blow to the development of democracy in Albania. They are directed against democratic processes and are not in line with today's developments. Only her enemies can be interested in a divided and destabilized Albania, without peace and security.

The Presidential Council calls on all people and state services to act energetically to establish order and calm everywhere. It calls on citizens to return to work and on everybody to observe the laws. It is to the good of the nation [words indistinct] to stop all strikes and [words indistinct] vandalism. [Words indistinct]

We express our full confidence in the readiness and devotion of the Army to defend the destiny of the homeland, and in the forces of order who, in continuing to remain calm, will be able to face their delicate duty in preserving the security of public life and the lives of citizens.

The Presidential Council considers that the enforcement of the law and support for the new government is the final chance to solve the situation by democratic means. Otherwise, the imposition of a state of emergency would not be [word indistinct], something that would not be in the interests of the people and democratic life in Albania.

We recommend that the new government act urgently to put the economic, social, and public order situation under control throughout the country's territory. It is up to it and the other social services to take immediate measures to ensure the most rational use of the food reserves for the people and raw materials for industry, with strict accounting.

The government must cut administrative expenditure in the most drastic ways, and reduce some of its investments, with the aim of using the funds saved to return the economy to working conditions that will be as normal possible. It must take all the necessary measures for Albanian Radio and Television and the information media dependent on it to accomplish their functions as laid down in the law as well as possible.

The Presidential Council expresses the belief that it will have the support of the people in carrying out its duties to secure and guarantee social peace and the progress of the homeland.

22 February 1991.

Alia Speaks; Calls For 'Self-Restraint'

AU2302203291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear brothers and sisters, dear members of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], I have received from you hundreds and hundreds of letters and telegrams in these sad days through which we are living. I have noted your legitimate wrath over the barbarous act of the demolition of Enver Hoxha's monument. I understand the intense concern that this vandalous act has aroused everywhere. For my part, I wish to stress once again that Enver Hoxha is an historical personality with strong roots in the people, and that history does not judge with the mentality of manipulated crowds. Busts may be removed, but the figure of Enver Hoxha cannot be toppled because he personifies the biography of the people and the history of the new Albania. The PPSh and the entire Albanian people are proud to have had a leader like Comrade Enver.

I also wish to assure you that an explanation of the circumstances in which the vandalous acts took place, and their causes, will be the first task after the reestablishment of public peace and order. A monument to Enver Hoxha does honor to the country in which it stands. We must not, however, respond to vandalism in kind, but with the organized forces of the people. We must not respond to blindness with blindness; therefore, I call on you to exercise self-restraint and ask you to think intently and with national responsibility about any task you may undertake, in the trust that the proper solutions will be implemented at the most suitable time from the many suggestions you have made in your letters and telegrams.

In particular, I call on communists and all honest people in this country not to fall into the traps of certain filthy tricks that are being devised to divide the PPSh, to vilify its leadership, and to undermine the noble labor and struggle of communists in the service of the homeland and its progress.

Brothers and sisters, we, together, with all our hearts and will, have embarked on democratic transformations. So far we have succeeded; we have done everything to avoid bloodshed. Do we still have the strength to advance further in peace on this road? Can we avoid fratricide? I think we can. Each and every one, however, must be clear in his mind and be aware that our road, especially under the conditions of the savage struggle waged against us from abroad and from within, cannot be traveled without traumas and setbacks. Somebody brought to Albania those weapons used yesterday evening in Tirana to fire on our People's Army and the forces for the maintenance of order, and somebody planned on their use.

You, dear comrades, who write to me, ask me questions, offer me help and support, and express indignation to me over everything that has happened in recent days, are patriots. You are honest citizens; you are dedicated communists and resolute fighters for the cause of Albania; you are the true democrats. I would have liked to visit you all today to explain in full today's developments and events; however, what I need now is your help to reestablish order and security, to isolate vandal and terrorist elements, and to restore the life of the people to its usual course. We are not leaving Albania to the mercy of fate, to the mercy of acts on the streets. We will not allow Albania to become a sacrificial lamb in the games of various forms of opposition or the aims of foreign enemies. The destiny of our beloved homeland must rest as always in the hands of the people themselves.

I believe that our people with their clear judgment will overcome with prudence and determination the critical moments through which we are passing. I am convinced that the members of our glorious party will correctly understand events and will actively support as always the party and the government to surmount the dangers that threaten the power of the people, the life of the people, and the future of the free and independent Albanian state.

Rallies, Protests Continue Throughout Country

Tirana 'Relatively Peaceful' 22 Feb

AU2202170791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Zijad Dizdarevic report]

[Text] Following the intensive student demonstrations that shook Albania during the past several days, shaking the regime and destroying the symbols of the years of Stalinism, Tirana is relatively peaceful today. As is known, students toppled the monument to Enver Hoxha in Tirana two days ago, and because of the demonstrations, which continued yesterday as well, police and military armored vehicles have been patrolling Tirana. Here is a report from Tirana by Zijad Dizdarevic, special correspondent for Sarajevo Radio:

[Dizdarevic] Tirana seems to be peaceful today, as far as we could see. There are no mass gatherings. True, a large number of people are in the streets, but they are moving.

We have been told that activists from the opposition parties are among the students and citizens and are trying to calm down people's feelings. The center of Tirana, particularly the area where state and party institutions, the Enver Hoxha Memorial Center, and leaders' villas are located, is encircled by the Army, tanks, and special security units. They have therefore taken over the role that was mostly played by the police until yesterday.

Everything directly connected with Enver Hoxha's name is being particularly protected. We approached the party hall named after him, because there had been announcements that the building would be encircled by demonstrators today. A policeman has kindly asked us to move away from the hall. There are rumors that the security forces will react more harshly if there are any, as they put it, vandalist attempts. A large number of books from the bookshop that Enver Hoxha used to go to in his student days is still smoldering. The bookshop has literally been destroyed and all the books have been set on fire. We have learned that demonstrators in Durres yesterday ravaged a street bearing Enver Hoxha's name and that there was also unrest in Korce. Truly immense hatred is directed against the dead Enver Hoxha.

Of course, we do not know now what Ramiz Alia is planning and whether the action of forming the presidential council and a new government in cooperation with the opposition is continuing. There is still the dilemma of whether Ramiz Alia has in fact carried out a presidential coup. Namely, a state of emergency has not been announced, but all the measures taken are as though one had been. The Assembly has not been functioning for a long time with the explanation being given that its term of office had expired; however, according to the Constitution, if the Assembly does not [word indistinct], decisions are made by the Presidium. Ramiz Alia has, in fact, abolished the Presidium as well.

The important thing, of course, is how students are going to behave. It is difficult to believe that they will calm down so easily. True, a period of relative calm is possible, but it is a long time until 31 March when elections are to be held.

Representatives of the Kosovo opposition who arrived in Tirana yesterday evening had talks today with the leadership of the Democratic Party of Albania. We owe you an apology because we reported yesterday that Adem Demaqi also arrived in Tirana; however, this is not so.

Today about noon, a rather large group of people has gathered around the [name indistinct] Mosque at the edge of Skenderbeg Square. We assume that this is so because it is Friday today. By the way, along with the place where Enver Hoxha's monument was toppled, this mosque has also become a place for a special kind of pilgrimage. Hundreds of people are visiting it. We are told that normally, now that religion has been returned to Albania, only about 20 believers come to the mosque each day.

Protests Reported in Skrapar District

AU2202183791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Our Skrapar correspondent reports: It was difficult, so difficult, for us to file this report today and

describe the highly tense situation prevailing in Skrapar District after the news of the demolition of Enver Hoxha's monument in Tirana. In the town of Corovode, we and our cameras were eyewitnesses. The events began early in the morning. People gathered in the town's main square, protesting in front of cars that had arrived from Tirana. The crowd grew and grew. The square was filled as seldom before with workers who had laid down their tools, schoolchildren who had cut classes, young boys and girls, soldiers, and others. A group of them entered the building of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] Committee, where they were holding a plenum. They drove out the district leaders, shouting: Explain to the people. Despite efforts to pacify the disgusted and disillusioned people, upset following the removal of Enver Hoxha's monument, they shouted: We want the head in Skrapar; We too will go on a hunger strike, and other slogans. Various speakers among the people pleaded for moderation and cool heads. Others appealed that no one should set out for Tirana, or only if the homeland's borders call. After just over an hour, the rally seemed to disperse. It began again a little later, however, and some people entered the PPSh building and issued various ultimatums. As our reporter Riza Bregasi stresses, there were also similar demonstrations in the town of Polican and in many cooperatives, especially in the area of Tomorice.

Pro-Hoxha Rally Held in Permet

AU2202183991 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] The people of Permet experienced a day of drama yesterday after the news of the fall of Enver Hoxha's monument in Tirana. Our reporter writes that a rally was organized at daybreak, with inhabitants from all parts expressing deep indignation. We could not learn more because of the extensive demonstrations organized in the town of Permet.

At 1145 a group of cooperativists from Kosine, carrying the national flag and pictures of Enver Hoxha, entered the town, shouting: Party, Enver, we are always ready. When they arrived at the main square, hundreds and hundreds of citizens surged toward them, joining the demonstrators from Kosine and later from Carshove. Within half an hour, the demonstrators could be numbered in the thousands. It was the first day that the workers of Permet had abandoned work. There were children from the elementary and secondary schools. The demonstrators improvised a dais, on which different speakers expressed their intense indignation at the act committed in Tirana. Many speakers called on the people of Tirana and honest patriots to dissociate themselves from this event, which history will soon condemn. At the spontaneous rally, many telegrams addressed to Comrade Ramiz Alia were read out, demanding among other things the reinstallment of Enver Hoxha's monument. Enver Hoxha belonged to everybody. Many speakers were accompanied by shouts for the Albanian Workers Party. The song, "Enver Hoxha, long life to you" was sung for minutes on end. The demonstration reached its apogee when pioneers of Enver from the [name indistinct] school said to the people that, if Enver Hoxha's monument is not reerected by 25 February, the 740 pupils of this school will declare a hunger strike, a statement with which the pupils of the Nonda Bulka School expressed their solidarity.

After some hours, the demonstrators on the town's main square, which they themselves proposed should be called Enver Hoxha Square, moved in the direction of the [name indistinct] hall. Hundreds of people entered the hall, while hundreds of others were left outside, shouting: Enver Hoxha lives; Enver Hoxha is among us. After a further hour of demonstrations, at which the Hymn of the Flag was sung, the demonstrators dispersed peacefully. No incident occurred during the rally. Similar rallies were also held in [place names indistinct].

Pro-Hoxha Rally Held in Kucove

AU2202214691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] In the main square of Kucove [formerly Qytet Stalin] at 1200 today, thousands of citizens gathered in a large people's rally organized by this town's branch of the Enver Hoxha Association of Voluntary Union [Shoqata e Bashkimit Vullnetar—Enver Hoxha]. In the name of the voluntary committee of this association, the teacher Halil Selimi, member of this committee, spoke to the rally. Among other things, he said that this rally was being organized to protect the character and work of Enver Hoxha. The destructive acts committed against his monuments in Tirana, Durres, and Korce show that regressive, antidemocratic forces do not wish the people well. Enver Hoxha led the struggle for freedom and to bring the country out of medieval backwardness. The acts committed in tearing down his monuments do not in the least sully his work of 40 years, which is deeply implanted in the people's hearts and minds.

Speakers at the rally expressed their determination to defend the work of Enver Hoxha for the good of the country and the people. They called for dialogue with Ramiz Alia about the country's serious political situation, and called for the mass media such as the radio and television, etc., not to only reflect the activities of one party because parties are not the entire people, who are above parties. They have no need to concentrate on propaganda about vandalistic acts incited by foreign and domestic enemies.

The inhabitants of the Perondi, Goraj, Kapi, and Lagesh villages and soldiers of Units Nos. 1,130 and 1,875 joined the rally in Kucove.

A spontaneous rally was organized in front of a bust of Enver Hoxha in Perondi. The reporter from the Namik Gjoni district reports that the worker Vangjel Tybe; Bardhyl Islami and Ilo Lola from the Perondi cooperative; the soldiers Luan Hasi and Arben Broda; and the veterans Themi Gjika and Nazir Kapedani spoke at the

rally, expressing indignation at the vandalistic acts against the name and reputation of Enver Hoxha. Participants in the rally shouted for the Albanian Workers Party and Enver Hoxha. They shouted slogans such as: Party, Enver, we are always ready; and, The Army is with the people. The participants then filed before the bust of Enver Hoxha with their fists raised.

Pro-Hoxha Rally Held in Gjirokaster

AU2302000391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] A rally was held At 1000 today in the main square of the 18 September District in the town of Gjirokaster, attended by working people from production centers, cooperativists from the villages of Palokaster, Shtepeze, Mashkullor, Fushe Bardhe, Asim Zeneli, Kolonje, and Lazarat, and from villages in Lunxheri and many other areas. The square echoed to calls of Enver Hoxha; Albanian Workers Party [PPSh]; and, Party, Enver, we are always ready.

Different speakers at this rally such as the engineer Artan Mevlani, and [10 indistinct names], expressed their deep indignation at the destructive acts that took place in Tirana and the destruction of the monument to Enver Hoxha. It was especially stressed at the rally that unity, the strengthening of democracy, and a peaceful approach to the 31 March elections cannot be achieved through such acts and behavior toward the figure and work of Enver Hoxha, who was the leader of the National Liberation War and the founder of the new Albanian state, nor by tolerant attitudes toward those who seek to destroy unity and trifle with the people's feelings.

Despite the intervention of representatives of the PPSh and the district authorities, various persons at the rally, irritated in this situation, also shouted slogans conflicting with demands for the strengthening of democracy and unity. The representatives of the PPSh and the state authorities dissociated themselves from these calls and intervened several times to demand calm and order.

At the conclusion of the meeting, groups of people headed for the Eqrem Cabej Higher Pedagogical Institute and protested at the striking students' removal of Enver Hoxha's bust from the Institute's entrance, and replaced it. They also called on students to return to classes immediately. Groups of people then demonstrated in the city's streets and stopped in front of the monument to Enver Hoxha. In front of the monument, different people spoke about the figure of Enver Hoxha and sang songs about him. This demonstration lasted several hours.

Protesters Interrupt Student Talks

AU2302001091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Resul (?Lovo), director of Radio Gjirokaster reported to us this afternoon that the students of the Eqrem Cabej Institute in the city of Gjirokaster have been on strike for 12 consecutive days. They have certain demands of an economic nature and have expressed solidarity with the students of Tirana University. After the instruction of the Education Ministry came, suspending classes until 25 February, a group of striking students did not leave the Institute for their homes. They waited for a meeting with the minister of education, stating that they would declare a hunger strike unless he came to talk with them.

The minister sent a delegation to talk with the students today. The meeting began in the afternoon, but was not brought to a conclusion, because crowds of people, after the end of the rally in the 18 September district, arrived at the Eqrem Cabej Institute. They demanded that the students continue classes and seized the bust of Enver Hoxha which the students had removed, replacing it in its former position.

Under these conditions, the meeting of the students with the representatives of the Education Ministry was abandoned.

Lushnje Rally Held; Clashes Reported

AU2302211091

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1900 GMT on 23 February carries five minutes of reports on rallies in various districts protesting the demolition of Enver Hoxha's monument in Tirana on 20 February.

The announcer states: "Rallies were held in various parts of the country today, in which thousands of people took part. Librazhd reporter Esat Tuclari states that "The patience of the people of Librazhd is exhausted." "Events culminated at 1815 yesterday evening, with a magnificent rally held in the town's main square." A "seven-point petition" is reported to have been sent to the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] Central Committee. "Finally, all the rally's participants demonstrated in the town's streets, carrying pictures and busts of Enver Hoxha. This lasted two hours, and there were no incidents."

Mirdite reporter Xhelal Marku reports "many participants" in a rally in Rreshen at 0930 on 23 February. The rally is reported to have lasted four hours, with calls in support of "Enver Hoxha, national unity, and democracy."

Berat reporter Namik Gjoni reports a rally in the town "with shouts for the PPSh and Enver Hoxha," "that was opened by the soldier [name indistinct], chairman of the Enver Hoxha Voluntary Activists Union for the district." "The rally turned into a powerful demonstration, with shouts for national unity. The rally ended after three hours and took place in peace and order. As the participants were quietly dispersing, some young people organized a spontaneous rally in front of the Margarita

Tutulani Palace of Culture. The participants shouted: 'We love Kadare'; 'We want Albania to be like all Europe,' etc."

The announcer states: "A rally was organized in the main square of Lushnje. Before the rally started, a group of young people shouted slogans that conflicted with the law and the feelings of those who had gathered for the rally. While some members of the forces of order fired shots into the air, Ylli Katani and other leaders of the Democratic Party's district branch talked with the group shouting slogans, and some members of it left. The rally then started. At the end of the rally, people dispersed. At this point, the same group of young people started further demonstrations, which caused concern. Gunshots were also heard. The news spread that a child had been killed. This caused distress, and led some people to remain for a long time at the scene where the event allegedly took place. Although even relatives said that nothing had happened, this group of people did not disperse for a long time. There were similar rallies in Gramsh, Peshkopi, and Erseke.

Tanks Protect Elite

AU2402144691 Paris AFP in English 1409 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Feb 24 (AFP)—Tanks were guarding the approaches to the ruling elite's residential compound in Tirana on Sunday and access to key buildings, amid reports of scores of arrests following two days of clashes between troops and armed anti- communist demonstrators.

An Albanian news agency journalist said about 60 people had been detained in connection with the clashes in which three people are officially acknowledged to have died. According to other sources the death toll could be as high as 12 or even higher. The ATA journalist said most of those arrested were in their early twenties and included several women.

Shooting petered out towards midnight Saturday at the Enver Hoxha military academy where since Friday cadets, officers and police reinforcements had been under fire from civilians, firing with automatic weapons from neighburing houses. [passage omitted]

Tirana 'Quiet' After Clashes

AU2402153991

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its regular 15-minute newscast at 1430 GMT on 24 February carries 10 minutes of reports on the current situation in Albania.

The announcer states: "Today is quiet in Tirana. Many families, taking advantage of the fine and sunny weather, are going out into the streets, parks, and to the hills and the artificial lake to relax and to recover from the shocks of last week." At enterprises that work on Sundays, "work has not stopped, and workers went to their jobs normally this morning. The retail and service network and the bus services are also functioning normally."

A report follows on a rally in "the heroic village of Labinot, where Enver Hoxha worked." Participants in the rally are reported to have "carried the national flag and portraits of the immortal leader Enver Hoxha," and to have sent a telegram to Ramiz Alia and the Presidential Council.

The announcer states that "The town of Bajram Curri woke this morning to the voices of 750 chrome miners from Kam, who marched to the town through night, shouting: 'Party, Enver, we are always ready'; 'Albania, Ramiz, unity is (?with you)'; 'Army, guarantee'; and other slogans." Inhabitants of Bajram Curri are reported to have joined the miners, and "the rally passed peacefully."

A pro-Hoxha rally is also reported from Maliq, at which there were "spontaneous cries, Enver is with us. The town echoed to the song 'Enver Hoxha, long life to you,' and the slogans: 'Party, Enver, we are always ready'; 'Long live the Albanian Workers Party,' etc. Speakers called on the Presidential Council to take immediate measures to stabilize the situation, for the law to be enforced as soon as possible against the vandals and vagabonds who tore down the monument, and for the Radio and Television to be responsible to the people and not a political party."

Officers Hold 'Enthusiastic' Rally

AU2202235591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] This afternoon, an enthusiastic demonstration was organized in the Enver Hoxha United Officers High School. Teachers and officers of the capital's military schools shouted for Albania and Enver Hoxha and sang songs dedicated to him.

Military Schools Call For Talks, Issue Demands

AU2202222291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 91

["Call Issued to the President, Political Parties, and the Entire Albanian People," by the Tirana Military Schools in Tirana on 22 February]

[Text] The staff of the Military Schools in Tirana, sons of the workers, peasants, and honest intellectuals, strongly concerned and indignant at the criminal acts of dark forces, from which the various political parties and associations have publicly dissociated themselves, but unfortunately aware that despite the will and the innumerable demands of the Albanian people the situation in the country is not only not calming down but is increasingly deteriorated, demand:

1. A Presidential Council should be created and announced, announcing its program.

2. A referendum among all the people should decide on the figure of Enver Hoxha and assess him as the entire people wish.

3. We ask for the character of a soldier to be protected by law and to be inviolable.

4. The law on the protection of objects of economic, social, cultural, and historic value, built with the blood and sweat of the people, should be strictly enforced.

5. We ask that at 1700 today, 22 February 1991, representatives of the Presidium, political parties, the Ministries of People's Defense and Internal Affairs, and the propaganda media of the Radio and Television and the press should meet cadres and students of the Military Schools. The meeting is to be held in the square of the Enver Hoxha United Officers' High School.

6. The radio and television should be placed under the direction of the Presidential Council, and should give full information on the situation throughout the country, not only what happens in Tirana.

7. The staff of the Military Schools in Tirana call on all political parties, associations, and various bodies to abandon big words and statements and to sit down with the masses of the people to secure for them calm and stability in the country and to arouse their consciences, with the aim of overcoming the situation that has been created without pain and bloodshed.

8. Because all political parties have dissociated themselves from the destructive activities of these forces, the law should be enforced against those forces.

The staff of the Military Schools are sons of the people and from all areas of Albania. We are the most ordinary sons of the people. We have not enjoyed and do not ask for any privileges, except the privilege of protecting the freedom, independence, and territorial integrity of our dear homeland and our beloved people. We stress once again that our only demands are to secure and maintain peace, that there should be no bloodshed, because no Albanian is superfluous in our land. At the same time, the people should live in peace and should achieve without obstacles the democratization of the country's life and of our Armed Forces.

Parties, Defense Members Meet at Military School

AU2202215191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] This evening, representatives of political parties, the Ministry of People's Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the propaganda media, at the request of the Initiating Commission of the Movement for the Defense of the Interests of the People and the Homeland of the military schools in Tirana, had a meeting with representatives of these schools. They discussed the call addressed by these schools to the president, the political parties, and to all Albanian people. The meeting took place in a spirit of debate, in which each side expressed its views. Agreement was reached in principle on all the points in this call.

Participants Air Views on Situation

AU2202233891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2220 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] This evening, representatives of the political parties, the Ministry of People's Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the propaganda media, at the request of the Initiating Commission of the Movement for the Defense of the Interests of the People and the Homeland [Levizja per Mbrojtjen e Interesave te Popullit dhe te Atdheut] of the Military Schools in Tirana held a meeting with representatives of these schools.

The meeting was opened by Agim Bajraktari, chairman of the Initiating Commission, who pointed out that the Commission has the aim of defending the victories achieved by our people, and to guard democracy from vandals and dark forces that seek to destabilize the situation and create savage confrontations. He stressed that this Commission favors the depoliticization of the Army, which should be solely in the service of the law and the defense of the homeland and the life of the people. The removal of Enver Hoxha's statue, he said, is a barbaric act and beyond all reason. He drew attention to the attitude maintained in this situation by the forces of order, and expressed his readiness to help them to stabilize the situation and establish the necessary peace. He also drew attention to the situation at the Radio and Television. The author Agron (?Bedaj), a member of the commission, said this commission was born out of a need to help in the serious times through which the country is passing. The dark forces, he said, do not lack a master. Someone is directing them.

Neritan Ceka, representative of the Democratic Party, then spoke. The Army, he said, must obey the president and commander in chief of our Armed Forces. I agree, he said, to discuss all the points you raised in your call. Your concern and attitude is right, and I am in agreement with what you have said about assessing the figure of Enver Hoxha. Enver Hoxha belongs to history, and took his place in history. An assessment of this figure cannot be accomplished by means of a referendum and at a set time. Let us not equate democratic processes with the excesses and vandalism of specific groups who are hampering and destroying democracy. We dissociate ourselves from these forces.

[Name indistinct], representative of the Albanian Workers Party, said his party supports the statement of President Ramiz Alia. Regardless of the fact that Enver Hoxha's statue was removed, he is and remains in the heart of the Albanian people. Those who tore the statue down are not the people. There is disgust at this act in the districts, and the party is making efforts to pacify the indignant masses.

[Name indistinct], representative of the Democratic Front, said the situation could lead to civil war. What happened to the statue of Enver Hoxha in Tirana does not express the feelings of the people. [passage indistinct]

(?Halil Canaj), representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, said that he agreed to propose the restoration of the monument to the president. It is difficult for the forces of the people to act when women and children are placed in front of the crowds. We will use all our forces to do everything within the law to maintain order and calm.

[Name indistinct], representative of the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights, said that this Forum is against the use of force, and calls for everything to be solved within the law. He suggested that the meeting should issue a call directed to all political forces and the Albanian people.

Alban Rado, representative of the Ecology Party, said he agreed that the law on the protection of distinguished figures from the past should be enforced. [words indistinct]

Dashamir (?Mati), representative of the Sociological Association, said he agreed to discuss a referendum. We need political stability, he said, and we must all strive for this.

[Name indistinct], representative of the Ministry of Defense, said that we must struggle together to overcome the situation. [passage indistinct]

Two Die in Armed Clashes Outside Military School

AU2202221691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] During the time when representatives of the parties and the Initiating Commission of the schools were debating and discussing in a spirit of understanding about stabilizing the situation, destructive forces in the street outside the schools' premises shouted provocative slogans and fired guns. This went on for a long time. They also mounted an offensive in which one policeman was killed and two others were wounded. After this, the forces of order returned fire. The exchange went on until a few moments ago, and is perhaps still continuing. Data so far state that there is one dead and one wounded among the destructive forces.

Normalcy Reported After Damage to School

AU2402180091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Following the events of 22-23 February when dark and destructive committed vandal acts—going so far as to use firearms against the Enver Hoxha Officers United High School, whose facilities and buildings suffered serious material damage—and after the spread of stories about internal conflicts involving cadets and cadres, our reporter went today to meet the school's personnel.

It is understandable that the parents and relatives of the cadets and cadres of the Enver Hoxha Officers School should be concerned about the fate of their sons and brothers. We found them living through a normal day today. What was striking was the lively atmosphere of total normalcy. We learned that they started work in the early hours of this morning to repair the damage caused to their school by the groups of vandals. Talking with people at the school, we learned that they did not respond in a single case to the most serious and base insults, which went to the point of gunshots, offered to them by these forces with their specific aims. In no case did they fall for the provocations, but maintained admirably cool heads and avoided any armed conflict with the people.

There was a lively atmosphere throughout the sports and cultural facilities, especially around the post office and telecommunications building, where we learned that hundreds and hundreds of telegrams have arrived. Members of the Initiating Commission of the military schools reported to us and immediately assured us that they will never fall victim to the malevolent forces that are trying to lead Albania toward war. They will always be determined fighters for and loyal sons of Albania.

Situation 'Calmer'; 30 Detained

AU2402200591 Tirana ATA in English 1937 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 24 (ATA)—The Interior Ministry clarifies once again the public opinion that on February 22 1991, when at 1730 groups of people gathered in front of the "Enver Hoxha" United Higher School of Officers and began to chant provocative slogans, the public order forces went on spot. They called on the flocks to disperse and attempted to shoot but from the midst of the flocks and the other dominating positions arms were fired against the forces of order. As a result the policeman Lulzim Sulollari died and two others were wounded. Despite this the forces of order responded by shooting into the air, but destructive elements went on shooting, exploiting also the darkness. Following this, the forces of order were forced to open fire in the directions from which it was fired against them.

On February 23, too, around the "Enver Hoxha" United Higher School of Officers, flocks of people triggered tensions, blocking the road and throwing bottles with fuel which caused light fires and in three cases they fired with arms in the direction of the school's territory. In the evening of this date and during the night explosive substance was thrown in the territory of the school. In the morning of February 24, from an undefined height which dominates the school's yard, it was shot with firearms and the officer Bashkim Lika got wounded.

During all this time, the flocks continued with their provocations of all kinds against the forces of order, which up to now have coped with them with coolheadedness, clearly realizing the aims of these provocations.

The forces of the order have strengthened the measures to restore the public order in the environments of the school and during the last 24 hours have detained 30 persons.

Today the situation has been calmer.

Soldiers, Civilians Reportedly Flee to Italy

AU2302145491 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 23-24 Feb 91 p 4

[Text] On Friday [22 February] an Albanian Navy ship with 24 lightly armed soldiers and four civilians aboard deserted to Italy. All people aboard asked for political asylum.

Tirana Clashes Reportedly Continue; Leka Comments

Former King 'Prepared To Return'

AU2302164991 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Nicolas Miletitch report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Feb 23 (AFP)—Fears of a civil war were seething in Tirana Saturday amid fighting and rumours that hardline communists were preparing to impose a state of emergency with the support of the Army, journalists reported by telephone from the Albanian capital. [passage omitted]

Clashes continued Saturday and the overall picture remained confused. Unconfirmed reports said cadets from the military school, carrying arms, had attempted to enter Skenderbeg Square to install a bust of Mr. Hoxha, but had been prevented from doing so by police.

The fighting began Friday when demonstrators marched on the academy with the intention of removing a bust of Mr. Hoxha. One policeman and three demonstrators died in an exchange of gunfire, according to an official announcement. Other sources put the death toll higher. Some reports said that fighting involved pro and anti-Hoxha forces within the military school, where cadets had received arms and munitions.

The Interior Ministry has banned all gatherings in Tirana, an opposition leader told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. The statement by the Army officers denouncing the tearing down of the Skenderbeg Square statue, issued late Friday, was seen as supporting the views of conservatives seeking to slow down or halt the movement toward democratisation. [passage omitted]

The officers' committee called on a newly constituted presidential council, formed Friday, to take control of the radio and television stations and of the press. [passage omitted]

A journalist placed the number of dead in Friday's clash at close to a dozen, including children, with as many injured, and shooting continued overnight. [passage omitted]

"The situation is extremely confused", an Albanian journalist, contacted by telephone, reported on Saturday morning. "Unidentified snipers have taken up position on the roofs of buildings near the military school and are exchanging gunfire with troops and police," he said. Other armed groups reportedly broke into houses and set up barricades in front of the entrance to the school. The area around the school was ringed off by police and troops supported by tanks.

Trucks brought troops to the area of the military school while police and troops patrolled the city, the journalist said. Tanks were stationed near the residential area assigned to senior party and government cadres. Fighting was reportedly continuing near the academy Saturday afternoon. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile in Paris, Prince Leka [title as received], claimant to the Albanian throne, warned of the gravity of the situation in the country and said that Friday's incidents had left "many more" casualties than the four officially announced. "I'm in contact with the interior and there were many more victims because the troubles aren't only going on in the Tirana region," he said.

The prince called for "real freedom and a real democracy, not a puppet regime," blaming current disturbances on the regime and its leaders, including Mr. Alia.

Prince Leka, 50, who lives in South Africa, said he was prepared to return to Albania for a referendum in which the people would decide whether it wanted a monarchy or a republic.

Ex-King's Aids Comment on Casualties

AU2302175291 Paris AFP in English 1741 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Excerpts] Paris, Feb 23 (AFP)—Violent clashes between anti-communist demonstrators and security forces have left 69 people dead or injured since Friday, aides to Leka I, exiled heir to the Albanian throne said here Saturday. Speaking after phone calls to contacts in the Albanian capital, they described an "atmosphere of civil war" at a Tirana hospital and spoke of the "huge difficulties of hospital personnel to nurse the many injured". Leka I earlier said the situation in Albania was "serious".

The reports came amid continued fighting in Tirana and rumours that hardline communists were preparing to impose a state of emergency with the support of the Albanian Army.

Leka I denounced "maneuvering by dictator Ramiz Alia (the Albanian president) to maintain the cult of tyrant Enver Hoxha", the country's late hardline leader. [passage omitted] Leka I called on the Albanian people to "continue their battle against the (communist) regime until final victory for true democracy and freedom". His aides added that Mr. Alia, in a radio address Saturday, called on the people to remain calm, criticizing people fanning anti-government sentiment from overseas.

College Classes Closed for 'One More Week'

AU2302222491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] In an announcement made one week ago, an Education Ministry spokesman reported the decision not to hold classes in the country's colleges until 25 February. The question of closing elementary and secondary schools until this date was also left up to the district education departments. The same spokesman issues a new statement today. Because the general situation is unpropitious for the normal conduct of classes, the Education Ministry considers that classes at all the country's colleges should be canceled for one more week. The same measure will be taken in the elementary and secondary schools of Tirana, while district education departments are advised to act as they think best, taking into consideration the conditions and opportunities for normal classes, and in the hope of achieving normality as soon as possible. In conclusion, the spokesman stated that the education minister will give notification of any changes at the proper time.

Tirana, 23 February 1991.

Government Orders Spending Cuts, Views Situation

AU2302204691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Announcement by the Council of Ministers issued in Tirana on 23 February]

[Text] The Council of Ministers met today, on 23 February 1991, and discussed the country's current political and economic situation. [Words indistinct] at the center and the base, in implementation of the tasks set by the Presidential Council. Bearing in mind the economic difficulties through which the country is passing, the government decided to significantly cut the administrative expenditure of state and economic bodies, to reduce mainly nonproductive investments, to reduce the Foreign Ministry's administrative expenditure in foreign currency by significantly reducing embassy personnel, the expenditure of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and that of other ministries. The Council of Ministers also entrusted ministries with the task of carrying out measures to balance shortfalls in the income of the state budget's income, and to release funds and material resources to improve the supply of the market, accelerate the construction of apartments, etc.

The Council of Ministers laid down organizational measures for ministries, the executive committees of district people's councils, and the managements of enterprises to establish the order and labor discipline everywhere, which is necessary in the current situation, and to exploit every opportunity to surmount the difficulties through which the economy is passing. It entrusted the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries and the Albanian State Bank with the task of ensuring the delivery of imported goods on the basis of agreed credits.

The government also considered the tense public order situation created in recent days. It entrusted the services for the maintenance of order with the task of enforcing all legal measures to eliminate the terrorist hotbeds that have imperiled citizens' lives and safety. The government calls on all the people, political parties, and social organizations to make a real contribution to ensuring a stable political situation in the country, which is so necessary to guarantee the homeland's freedom and independence, the deepening of the process of the country's democratization, and the normal conduct of the election campaign.

Organizations React to Recent Demonstrations

PDSh Warns of Volunteers, Violence

AU2202224491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Statement of the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party issued on 22 February; place not given]

[Text] Today was an exceptionally difficult day for democracy. Extremist forces of the left and right tried to plunge the country into a bloodbath. According to the information we have from branches of the Democratic Party [PDSh] in the districts of Permet, Skrapar, Gjirokaster, Fier, and Kucove, workers of the executive committees and the Albanian Workers' Party committees in the districts have called on the people to register as volunteers and to march toward Tirana to topple the central government.

Certain dark forces in the central government have sent messages to executive committees and people's councils in some districts for the organization of rallies and the registration of volunteers to march to Tirana. There was a report of a rally in Vlore District that was later canceled. There were calls for the registration of volunteers in Peshkopi. Similarly, a group of officers and military students have presented demands that conflict with their legal obligations. In Tirana, they have created an initiating commission that declares itself above its commanders and above the commander in chief. These activities are supplemented by those of rightist extremists, who seek to attack different central institutions.

The PDSh once again calls on all its members and sympathizers and all the country's democratic forces to maintain calm, to avoid provocations, and by their

attitude to help to stabilize the situation, and to avoid all acts of violence and (?looting) and all gatherings not organized by the PDSh. It calls on the forces for the maintenance of public order to act calmly and professionally in confronting this difficult situation through which we are passing.

The PDSh also calls on all members of our Armed Forces, at these critical moments for the destiny of the country and the nation, to confine themselves to their constitutional duties and obligations, the orders of the commander in chief, [words indistinct].

Volunteer Registration Denied

AU2302212891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Statement by the Council of Ministers' Press and Information Directorate in Tirana on 23 February]

[Text] Reports have arrived showing that various rumors have spread alleging that groups of people from various areas have set out in the direction of Tirana, Kavaje, and certain other towns. The Council of Ministers' Press and Information Directorate states that such reports are totally groundless and aim to provoke further increased tensions in the country. The government has taken measures to prevent any such behavior by those who threaten the citizens' lives and safety. It also denies the rumors that the state services in the districts have been issued instructions to register volunteers who will allegedly march to Tirana.

The Council of Ministers' Press and Information Directorate. Tirana, 23 February 1991.

PDSh Warns of 'Military Dictatorship'

AU2302215791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Communique by the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party; place and date not given]

[Text] The Democratic Party [PDSh] addresses democratic forces in Albania, its members and supporters, patriotic Albanians wherever they may be, and democratic public opinion throughout the world, and calls on them to raise their voices to protect democracy and stop in their tracks the criminal dark forces that wish to drown democracy in Albania in blood.

The acts in this fatal scenario are: the organization of rallies in the districts of Permet, Fier, Skrapar, Bajram Curri, etc., by leaders of executive committees, party committees, and local military commands; open calls for weapons, blood, and the overthrow of the central government by speakers at these rallies; demands for the registration of volunteers in the districts of Skrapar, Fier, Kruje, and Permet, and their actual registration; the telegram sent from Tirana including calls to march on Tirana; the ultimatum of a group of cadets and officers of the military schools in Tirana; the unprecedented rally of military personnel of these schools, at which the excited crowd brandished weapons and shouted slogans never heard before; the declaration of the Initiating Commission from these schools stating that they stand above their commanders and do not answer even to the commander in chief; the massacre carried out yesterday evening in the 10th District, in which four people were killed and dozens were wounded, many of whom were struck not in the street but in their own homes; attacks on and beatings and arrests of members and activists of the PDSh; calls to ban this party by law issued by officials of the ruling party; and the use of military vehicles to transport villagers to rallies, at which calls for weapons, blood, and a march on Tirana were issued.

All these things indicate clearly and conclusively a scenario of dark, extremist, and bureaucratic forces for the imposition of a military dictatorship in Albania. In this situation, the PDSh turns to its members, supporters, and all the country's democratic forces to work with determination, maintain cool heads, avert fratricide, and steer clear of fascist and putschist calls, traps, and provocations. The PDSh also appeals to all military personnel and ordinary sons of the Albanian people not to rise against their brothers, sisters, parents, and children, and not to turn on their own people. We call on you not to become tools of those forces aiming to impose a dictatorship on Albania. Do not forget that the people have entrusted to you the weapons you carry so you may defend Albanian territories, and may these weapons never be used against innocent and unarmed people. We express our trust that this will not happen.

Ministry Rebuts PDSh Accusations

AU2402175691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Statement by unidenitified spokesman of the Ministry of People's Defense issued on 24 February; place not given]

[Text] The Democratic Party's [PDSh] communique, broadcast yesterday evening by radio and television in connection with the rallies organized in some districts of the country and the Enver Hoxha Officers' United High Schools, mentioned among other things excited crowds calling openly for the forceful overthrow of the central government. The communique called on all soldiers not to rise against their people.

In connection with the aforementioned communique, the spokesman of the Ministry of People's Defense considers these statements to be totally untrue and to be attempts to damage the reputation and role of the Army and to harm and exacerbate its relations with the people. Our People's Army has never risen and never will rise against the people and their power. No malevolent insinuation, no scenario, no provocative call can in the least sully the honor of the Army and the military personnel of the People's Army. Our military personnel are sons of the people and the people know their own sons well. They perform the sacred duty of defending the homeland. They will fulfill with devotion the trust of the Presidential Council and will carry out the orders and instructions issued by Comrade Ramiz Alia, our commander in chief.

Pashko on Arrests

AU2502103391 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] In Albania, the new government has apparently reacted to the bloody unrest of recent days with a wave of arrests. The spokesman of the opposition Democratic Party of Albania [PDSH], Pashko, told the Austrian news agency APA that dozens of activists of the opposition have been arrested. The power conditions and the position of the Army are currently not clear, according to the opposition spokesman, who is currently in Austria but is in constant contact with his party headquarters in Tirana. He also said that at a rally, followers of Enver Hoxha, the founder of the communist state, demanded that the PDSh be banned, and they called upon the people to hang their leaders.

PRSh Calls For End to Rallies

AU2402181891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Statement by the Republican Party; place and date not given]

[Text] Rallies were held in various parts of the country on 23 February involving the participation of some local authorities. At a rally of this kind organized in Lushnje, there were cries of: Vlore—capital city. Perhaps no importance should be attached to such calls, but they likewise cannot be passed over in silence. In the various groups seeking destabilization of this kind, the people must single out irresponsible people, which include marked extremists. People who issue these or similar calls incite civil war, do not love the homeland, and wish to return us to 70 years ago, to a time when we were not part of Europe. They seek chaos and bloodshed as a way of creating principalities for their personal rule.

The Republican Party [PRSh] thinks at the present time that rallies of all kinds must be stopped (?and discussion conducted) in the press. Activities and discussions on the character of Enver Hoxha should be banned. Let the people state their general view on this issue in a referendum that could be approved by the new People's Assembly immediately after the elections. Without knowing the views of the people, no side can insist on solving the problem now. The PRSh calls for prudence, order, and work from everybody.

BSP Daily Denounces U.S. Foreign Policy

AU2302152691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Feb 91 p 4

[Khristo Mishev article: "The Defeated Are Not Allowed To Speak"]

[Text] In diplomacy, things are not always called by their real names, but in the mass media and in the legislature one should speak the naked truth. By this, I mean the truth about the so-called "general crisis," "the national disaster," and the "East European agony."

As a matter of fact the 1988-1989 period marked the end of the global 40-year cold war between two immensely large groups of states. It was a war that extended to all spheres of life—economics, politics, culture, and even sports—a war waged in space and on the earth, even in the depths of the oceans, a war competing for the domination of the people's minds and hearts, a war waged for the global interests of the superpowers....

As usual, we Bulgarians, were on the side of the defeated. Only a few powerful countries—the United States in the first place—are the victors. I cannot accept the pompous statements according to which the shortcomings of our social system are the only causes for our misery, while the victors are triumphant because of their market economy and on the account of the unlimited freedom of human rights prevailing in their countries.

I cannot accept such arguments because they are simply not true.

The nations of 12-15 countries in the world are prospering today, while dozens of others, oppressed by the yoke of market economy, have barely survived over the last decades. The brightest intellects of these countries are being drained by the great, rich, and arrogant masters, who are ruthlessly exploiting their brains and technical skills to the benefit of their own large corporations and military-strategic industries. The poor countries of the world are turned into a raw material appendix of the rich nations, where the latter build their plants that poison the environment and where they extort gigantic profits from cheap manpower, while the territories of those countries are turned into dung heaps for radioactive and contaminating waste.

I cannot accept the rhapsodic eulogies about the "greatest homeland of freedom" because this country has declared its interests as global. I cannot accept such praises, because the country in question helped overthrow Allende's legitimate power, crushed the legitimate government of Grenada, and bombed the sovereign state of Panama; shed the innocent blood of thousands of Vietnamese, trampled upon the legitimate and sacred rights of the Palestinian people, while praising Israel's fierce aggression, and blessed Turkey when it invaded and annexed half of the sovereign territory of Cyprus. Moreover, because the ambassador of the country in question interfered into the domestic affairs of defeated Bulgaria and participated in the election campaign rallies of certain political forces....

In the past the world was subject to two superpowers. Today, it is subject to only one. The leaders of this power are deciding what is good and what is bad, which country has violated human rights, and which has not done so. They dictate which government should be subject to economic and military sanctions, while the others just submit. Sometimes, some of them raise objections, trying to demonstrate a certain independence, but submit in the long run. The UN has voted and passed dozens of resolutions sanctioning Israel, which remained on paper. But once the great victor asked for a declaration against Iraq's aggression, it was immediately adopted and implemented, despite the fact that numerous European states did not enthusiastically join in the anti-Iraq campaign.

Until recently, the Soviet Union was called the "evil empire." What will they call the United States? The future will show, however, that we the defeated, were not allowed to speak.

U.S. Gulf Position Criticized

AU2502120091 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 20 Feb 91 p 3

[Vasil Asparukhov commentary: "Evasive U.S. Answer"]

[Text] Gorbachev's message to Bush encompassed two and a half pages. It was urgently discussed by the U.S. President and those at the highest military level. For the time being Washington sees nothing in the Soviet proposal that could postpone or cancel the planned ground offensive. The White House will continue the combat activities in the Persian Gulf, and Bush has rejected the Soviet plan, calling it "insufficient."

USSR-U.S. relations are entering a new stage of development, characterized by the numerous alternative solutions to the problems. The peace plan for the Persian Gulf, launched by Gorbachev, is an obvious sign of a new reshuffling of the political cards. Burdened by the heavy load of its internal problems, and first of all the problems in the Baltic Republics, the USSR apparently allowed the United States and its allies to "ride their prancing horse" in the Middle East. The Kremlin obviously understood, however, that its absence from that world region will enhance the geopolitical positions of the United States and the Western countries. Placing their heavy hand over the oil wealth of Kuwait, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, they will be able to crush, even without a war, such a traditional Soviet ally in the region as Syria. Indeed, Syria now remains the only such ally in the region.

In addition to the geopolitical interests one must mention several internal Soviet factors, which also influenced the situation. It is no secret that the powerful Soviet military still cannot swallow the inglorious departure from the military strongholds in Eastern Europe. The CPSU is increasingly strengthening its position, "leaving the

trenches," and demonstrating a new aggressiveness. Apparently, Moscow has decided to prevent such a development in the situation, in which the United States and its allies would draw single-handed a new map of this part of the world.

SDS Leader Attends Four-Day Seminar in Bonn

AU2302185591 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Berlin, February 23 (BTA)—Yesterday a four-day Bulgaro-German seminar, organized by the German Konrad Adenauer Foundation, ended in Bonn. The seminar was attended by 21 members of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) led by Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council.

"The main purpose of the seminar was to acquaint the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and a number of other influential German politicians, businessmen and public figures with the current situation in Bulgaria. The seminar also provided an opportunity to establish useful contacts with many German institutions which are concerned with our problems. During the discussions our hosts realized that the political changes in Bulgaria are inevitable and irreversible but that the road to democratization is not a smooth one. The German side expressed its readiness to support the democratic process in Bulgaria, Mr. Dimitrov pointed out.

"With the assistance of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation the SDS representatives had an opportunity to meet MP's from the Bundestag who are interested in Bulgaria's political development, with officials of the German Foreign Ministry, the Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce, the Federation of German Industry and the Association of Farmers. The SDS members were received by Prof. Dr. Rita Suessmuth, president of the Bundestag, who said she would like to visit Bulgaria within a month or two.

The SDS representatives also had a meeting with the directors of the newly-found "Institute for the Promotion of Democratic Practice in Bulgaria," which includes a number of prominent German politicians and public figures, as well as Bulgarians living in Germany. The sides discussed possible German assistance in training Bulgarian banking, agricultural and other specialists, as well as civil servants.

Pro-Soviet Rally in Sofia on Soviet Army Day

AU2302145891 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] A rally took place one hour ago at the Soviet Army Memorial in Sofia. It was organized by the Nationwide Movement for Civil Peace and Unity. During the rally, flowers were laid at the memorial on behalf of the Command of the Construction Troops, the Bulgaria-Soviet Union Foundation, the Ministry of Defense, the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and the Central Council of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism.

After this, many speeches in support of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship were made. During the speeches, dedicated to Soviet Army Day, shouts were heard such as: Eternal friendship! as well as shouts of protest against our present government and the president. The participants recited verses from Pushkin and our own poets, such as Vaptsarov. At the end of the rally, the participants set off together to the Soviet Embassy, to offer their festive congratulations to the Soviet officials.

Few People in Attendance

AU2302180891 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 23 (BTA)—Today a handful of people held a meeting in the centre of Sofia to express their gratitude to the "Soviet Army-Liberator." Thus the Day of the Army was celebrated on a much smaller scale than in previous years.

The rally was held by the new and still not very popular movement "Slav Fraternity Guarantee for Security." The attendees were mainly elderly people. The speakers emphasized that only the Soviet Army could safeguard Bulgaria's national security and that it is a symbol of peace in Europe. They also voiced protests against the policy of President Zhelev and Prime Minister Dimitur Popov who, according to them, orient Bulgaria towards the Western countries.

National Assembly Passes Land Bill

AU2202160691

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian on 22 February carries a live relay of today's session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly, which is entirely devoted to the second reading of the bill on the ownership and use of agricultural land. The relay begins at 0941 GMT, and the session is chaired by Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

After lengthy and often stormy debates, all the individual clauses of the land bill are approved by separate votes, but a heated dispute develops on the interpretation of the term "Bulgarians living abroad."

At 1401 GMT, Ginyo Ganev proposes that a working group be appointed to prepare a separate proposal on the issue, the only outstanding one, and to submit it to the legislature next week. Ganev's suggestion is approved by acclamation, after which he states the following:

"In accordance with the established practice, and as laid down in the regulations, the passing of a vote on the law as a whole, after it has been approved clause by clause, is not required. Accordingly, we must state that in the Grand National Assembly we have adopted an exceptional law, of great importance for the future of our country and our nation." He then thanks the members

and the relevant commissions for the work they have invested. Loud and prolonged applause follows.

Ganev then announces the proposed agenda for the next plenary session of the legislature at 1300 GMT on Tuesday 26 February. Petur Kornazhev, on behalf of the SDS legislative group; Nora Ananieva for the BSP; Elena Kircheva for the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; and other members make brief speeches voicing their satisfaction with the passing of the law.

At 1420 GMT, Ginyo Ganev declares today's session closed, after which the relay ends.

Principal Features Outlined

AU2202222691 Sofia BTA in English 2029 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian Legislature passed the Arable Land Ownership and Use Act, considered a key law for the economic reform by politicians and observers.

The land bill was discussed in the course of about two months. It was the only item on the agenda for the this week.

The basic principle in the Land Act is that the land is restored to its former owners and their heirs in its 1946 size. The land was never nationalized in this country; in the 50s and the early 60s land owners were forced to enter the cooperative farms. Later on agriculture was reorganized, the cooperatives were enlarged, while the real owners had no right to dispose of their land. The agriculture for which Bulgaria was renowned in the past was actually ruined by collectivization and reorganization, and the villages were depopulated. As a result, Bulgaria is now importing foodstuffs.

The Land Act passed today starts the process of restoring the property in Bulgaria to its rightful owners. Most probably it will be followed by the passing of acts to restore the nationalized big town property and the illegally expropriated property after September 9, 1944.

Under the act passed today, land can be owned by the state, the municipalities, the natural and juridical persons. Political parties are not entitled to it. The same applies to foreign states, foreign juridical persons and corporate bodies with foreign participation. Foreign and Bulgarian citizens resident abroad can come into possession of the land through inheritance but they have to transfer it within three years after the inheritance. Foreign juridical persons, foreign citizens and Bulgarians resident abroad can use Bulgarian arable land as provided by the Land Act.

The owner can freely choose how to use his land. He is obliged not to damage the soil and to observe the ecological norms. Immediately after they receive a document of ownership, the owners can lease or rent the land. The land act restores the land to the municipalities which was expropriated and passed to the cooperative farms.

One family can own up to 30 hectares. Land owners can form cooperatives and associations for joint cultivation. The ownership of the land is restored within a year of the enactment of the law.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the religious communities, cooperatives and social organizations will also get their land back.

The land act makes provision for the ways in which landless citizens and small-scale land owners can acquire land. They have limited rights to dispose of their land: they cannot transfer it, and they cannot lease it for a definite period of time. They qualify as full owners after cultivating it for ten years.

Nature and game reserves and other protected areas of national and international importance will remain state property. The same applies to land occupied by archaeological sites and cultural monuments; In this case former owners are recouped.

The legislature assigned the enforcement of the Land Act to the government which will work out the respective regulations. This act marks the beginning of the agrarian reform. This reform also requires the enactment of laws on the arable-land cadastre, on cooperatives, farming machinery and foreign investments.

Controversy Over Credentials Committee Report

AU2202113091 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly Credentials Committee, which has to determine the legitimacy of the general elections, is ready with its report. It will be probably considered by Bulgaria's legislature next week. Today, however, the deputy chairman of the committee Mr. Petur Kornazhev MP described a report in today's "DUMA" as a breach of legislative and journalist ethics.

The Socialists' daily today ran excerpts from what it claimed was the Credential Committee's report. The feature made a special point of the "Stoyan Ganev affair," saying that the opposition MP's credentials have to be cancelled because his election is invalid. Both Mr. Kornazhev and another member of the committee, Mr. Elenko Bozhkov MP, told the press today that the excerpts quoted do not come from the report of the Credentials Committee.

Still, some of the information overlaps with information contained in the report which implies that it "has been leaked by an MP," Mr. Kornazhev said. Mr. Bozhkov sees this as a deliberate campaign targeted against the co-president of the legislative Union of Democratic Forces and against the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] itself.

Lilov Views Party Responsibilities, Future Tasks

AU2202220891 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] At a meeting with supporters from Gulubovo and Radnevo, the twin towns on the territories where the Maritsa East Thermoelectric Plant is situated, Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council, expressed the present stand of his party on major problems of the country's political situation.

He said that the BSP supports Dimitur Popov's government program and the reform initiated by his cabinet, but at the same time the BSP is resolved to defend the claim for the people's social protection.

Mr. Lilov also discussed the party's current tasks, such as the preservation of civic peace, and the achievement of reform in our society in cooperation with the other political forces.

Aleksandur Lilov accepts the thesis about the party's responsibility for the crisis, but he rejects the argument about collective guilt. He thinks that guilt is personal and that everyone whose guilt has been proved must be held responsible from the political, legal, and moral points of view.

Alleged Purge of Sofia's Socialist Employees

AU2202145591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Feb 91 p 2

[Excerpt] A huge blue [color of Union of Democratic Forces] broom is making a clean sweep in the municipalities of Sofia. Information sources allege that a cadre purge is being prepared under the guise of structural changes. The purge is expected to start on Thursday [21 February], the date on which Sofia's mayor Aleksandur Karakachanov has called a meeting with the chairmen of the provisional executive committees of the capital's municipalities.

The planned merging of the commissions for intellectual and social activities will lead to people losing jobs or being shifted to other posts. In "blue" Sofia, according to the same sources, this may provide a plausible pretext for settling accounts with the red opposition. It is also rumored that the blue council leaders have already prepared a draft version of the new structure of the councils, as well as lists of specific names.

The structural changes in the system of people's councils must be decided according to the law by the Grand National Assembly. The provisional executive committees of the people's councils have no such powers, stated Georgi Bliznashki, chairman of the Sofia City Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, regarding rumors about the forthcoming conference. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov-Balev Trial Opens 25 Feb

AU2502094091 Sofia BTA in English 0859 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—The trial of the most long-standing ruler in the former socialist countries, Todor Zhivkov and his "shadow" Milko Balev (in the course of several decades he was chief of the cabinet of the former number one and reached as far up as the Politburo of the former Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party), opened at 9:30 this morning.

Zhivkov and Balev stood in the dock facing an enormous mosaic themis [as received] and a panel presided by a woman, Mrs. Stefanka Stoyanova, who enjoys great professional prestige among her colleagues. Members of the panel are Mr. Marin Chernev and Mr. Krustyo Petrov. The jury is a four-member one.

The prosecution is represented by Mr. Krasimir Zhekov, who has worked only for the bodies of the Prosecuting Magistracy and who has drawn the indictment.

Todor Zhivkov's counsel for the defense is made up of two women and one man—Mrs. Daniela Dokovska, Mrs. Reni Tsanova, and Mr. Yordan Shkolagerski. All of them have worked only for the bar.

Important witnesses are expected to be summoned, among whom there will be high-ranking officials of the former party and state hierarchy.

Zhivkov's 'Privileges' Examined

AU2402200991 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov says the trial due tomorrow against Bulgaria's long-time ruler Todor Zhivkov and his right-hand man Milko Balev, is against the privileges of the top party and state nomenklatura. Mr. Zhekov told the BTA that these privileges are indirectly related to Bulgaria's current crisis.

Mr. Zhekov, who will most probably represent the prosecution at tomorrow's trial and who has written the indictment, says that the defendants are likely to be put on yet another trial related the disastrous situation in Bulgaria.

If the trial does open tomorrow despite the fact that the defense has lodged objections to the breach of due process with the Supreme Court, the panel of judges will have to go through 70 volumes of case records. They are only part of the 108 volumes compiled during the preliminary investigation.

Fifteen volumes of records have been submitted to the Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office, incriminating Todor Zhivkov and other people, including officers, of crimes committed during the forced assimilation campaign against the ethnic Turks.

Part of the records, related to the criminal proceedings instituted against Zhivkov's son Vladimir Zhivkov and

Zhivkov's granddaughter Evgeniya Zhivkova for unearned income, have been submitted to the Sofia City Prosecutor's Office.

Initially, there were two separate cases filed against Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev. Later on, it turned out that both were involved in offenses connected with the publication of Zhivkov's works and with granting free aid worth 20,000 leva to Georgi Pavlov, former chairman of the Environment Protection Committee. The money belonged to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Todor Zhivkov, charged with squandering 26.5 million leva and Milko Balev, charged with embezzlement valued at 40,000 leva and with obtaining an undue opportunity for his son to receive foreign currency, are liable to imprisonment for a term of up to 20 years.

Additional Charges Pending

AU2302201191 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 23 (BTA)—On Monday Bulgaria's former No. 1 will be charged with causing damages valued at 26,516,039 leva, with crimes committed in his official capacity, with paying undue remunerations, with gaining a pecuniary advantage by means of deception involving documents, etc.

Moreover, Todor Zhivkov is likely to be arraigned in two other cases as well, which are being prepared now. Today's "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" provides details about this.

The first case is concerned with the crimes committed during the 1984-85 forcible assimilation campaign against the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. About 15 volumes of evidence have already been presented at the Prosecutor General's Office. Gen. Dimitur Stoyanov, former minister of the interior, turned out to be no less guilty than Zhivkov himself. That is why the crimes committed during the campaign will be investigated by the Prosecutor's Office of the Armed Forces as well. Legal action has already been brought against a number of former top party and state officials: Pencho Kubadinski, Stoyan Mikhaylov and former President Petur Mladenov.

Experts say that proving this blatant crime against the nation will be time-consuming and may go beyond the statutory 6-month period. The investigating authorities will have to find out many documents, trace the Communist Party policy as regards the ethnic Turks since 1947, investigate cases of violence related to the 1984 campaign against and the subsequent emigration of many ethnic Turks to Turkey in 1989. They should also check all tip-offs and find out witnesses.

Competent lawyers say they do not believe Zhivkov will be convicted because there is no appropriate legislation under which Zhivkov could be sued. Legal proceedings have been instituted against him pursuant to Article 162, Paragraph 1 of the Bulgarian Criminal Law, which, however, treats cases of intentional implantation of racial intolerance and national hatred. But in all the documents of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and in Zhivkov's speeches the assimilation campaign is referred to as "consolidation of the nation."

The other case is related to Zhivkov's guilt for Bulgaria's national catastrophe. Specialists say it will last at least a year because it is concerned with Bulgaria's domestic and foreign debt, environment, losing enterprises, economic imbalances. All shady transactions involving foreign partners will be reviewed and former and incumbent government officials will be questioned. So far there is evidence against Ognyan Doynov, former member of the Politburo, Grigor Stoichkov, former deputy prime minister and Khristo Khristov, former deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

Popov Receives Officers Pay Increase Demand

AU2502132591 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 21 Feb 91 p 2

[Ivan Staevski report: "Military Demands That Wages Be Increased Five Times"]

[Text] The officers have demanded that their wages be increased five times. This became clear on 20 February at the meeting between Prime Minister Dimitur Popov with the collegium of the Ministry of Defense and the executive leadership of the "Rakovski" Legion. This demand was described as a provocation against the country's economic reform. The Council of Ministers was confronted with an ultimatum regarding the military's social and daily living conditions. Certain circles have demanded that the "Rakovski" Legion assume the character of the military union that existed before 9 September 1944. A military trade union has been established in Bansko.

Popov expressed concern with those actions and called upon the collegium of the Minister of Defense to release from service all those who have violated the principle of one-man command, military discipline, and the Constitution.

The prime minister briefed the participants on the country's economic situation. He cited figures about the country's foreign debt, the budget deficit, and the fuel shortage, and explained the principle of the economic reform. His basic thought was that "the government has an open heart for the Army." He also pointed out that the general decrease of the standard of living will affect the military, and they must accept this.

It was stressed that the country needs a strong and combat-ready army, while the government ensures normal conditions of life and work, in accordance with its possibilities.

Popov said that after dissolving the Warsaw Pact the agreements from Helsinki, Vienna, and Paris will not provide a reliable guarantee of the country's security. According to him, talks with NATO headquarters were

the solution to this situation. It was announced that a related visit will take place by mid-March.

Both the collegium and the executive leadership of the "Rakovski" Legion stated that they are aware of the country's difficulties, support the government's policy, and will call upon the soldiers to maintain prudence and responsibility in implementing their military duty.

Defense Minister Opposes Army Trade Unions

AU2202163291 Sofia BTA in English 1528 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The minister of defense and the minister of the interior are categorically against setting up trade unions of military men.

Recently there has been an attempt in the army to set up a branch of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation which is one of the two biggest trade union organizations in the town of Bansko, southern Bulgaria.

The attempt was immediately sanctioned, General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of defense, told legislators yesterday. He believes his attitude is correct. There have never been trade unions in the history of the Bulgarian Army. Their setting up is banned by the operating legislature. Neither will they be permitted by the newly drafted bills, as it would contravene the adopted principle of depoliticization.

The officer who tried to establish a Podkrepa branch has been dismissed at the recommendation of the commander of the ground forces. "It has not been my own decision, but I support it," Mr. Mutafchiev stressed.

The minister of the interior, Mr. Khristo Danov, finds that the existence of a trade union of the troops within the system of the ministry is quite normal. Their trade union organization was set up under the previous Interior Minister, General Semerdzhiev. "Its establishment was necessary, because of the social problems and the daily wants of the police employees," Mr. Danov says. But he is categorically against the intervention of the two big trade union organizations in its activity. An agreement to this effect has been reached with the two trade unions' leaders. But, unfortunately I have recently been informed that the leader of Podkrepa, Dr. Trenchev, is about to go back on his word not to interfere with the police, Mr. Danov said.

Minister Danov shares General Mutafchiev's categorical opinion that there is no room for military trade unions in Bulgaria, argumentating his position by pointing out the bitter experience with Hitler Jugend.

The two ministers' explanation was met with applause in the legislature.

Legislative Chairman on Kurdzhali Situation

AU2202113791 Sofia BTA in English 2150 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Kurdzhali, February 21 (BTA)—"Tensions in the area have really mounted," Dr. Atanas Uzunov, chairman of the ad hoc Legislative Committee on the Situation in Kurdzhali, told the BTA. The committee completed its fact-finding mission in the town. Dr. Uzunov said some local people refuse to accept the decision of the government and of the Ministry of Education to sanction Turkish language teaching at school. No classes are conducted in any school in Kurdzhali now due to sit-in strikes against the introduction of Turkish as an optional subject. The town was the scene of incidents last night.

No political force claimed responsibility for the actions. Dr. Uzunov stressed that the solution of the problem is within the competence of the Grand National Assembly. "It must act without delay and do everything necessary to clear the gaps in Bulgaria's effective policy on the ethnic issue." Later on the Constitution will solve the questions in their entirety.

He assessed as a drawback the "hesitant and indecisive actions of the prosecutor's office and of the interim executive committees" and the resulting actions of the regional police force. On the other hand, Mr. Uzunov emphasized that "it should be borne in mind that they all worked in complicated psychological conditions and the police actions are consistent with the desire to maintain civil peace." He expressed the conviction that peace will be maintained and called on the people of Kurdzhali to place greater trust in the government and legislature.

The Bulgarian National Radical Party held a rally in Kurdzhali this evening. At the rally, the government move was described as "the latest in a series of criminal decisions" and the government was called "a hopeless government of hope." The Bulgarian National Radical Party supports the sit-in strikes against Turkish language teaching.

Unrest Persists in Muslim Areas

AU2302180991 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 23 (BTA)—A major topic in today's press is the alarming situation in the regions with large Turkish populations. Schools in the towns of Kurdzhali and Khaskovo (southern Bulgaria) and Razgrad, Silistra and Tutrakan (northern Bulgaria) are still occupied by sit-in strikers. According to Mr. Dimitur Lyubenov, special correspondent of the "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" daily, "the nationality problem in Kurdzhali has not been defused. It might flare up at the slightest provocation and the results will be unpredictable." Mr. Lyubenov believes that the conflict is not between Christian Bulgarians and Muslims with Turkish self-identification, but among the Bulgarian Christian population. Some journalists say that some of the people who have occupied the schools are neither teachers, nor school officials or parents.

A declaration signed by 630 teachers is being circulated in Kurdzhali, urging the Ministry of Education to review its decision. Otherwise, the declaration threatens, as of Monday, the symbolic strike will turn into an effective

one. The Fatherland Party of Labour and the Nationwide Committee for Defence of National Interests held a rally late last night at which a decision was adopted to impose a moratorium on the issue of introducing Turkish language as a subject in Bulgarian schools until a nationwide policy line is worked out.

Yesterday in Silistra the local branches of the political forces failed to reach an agreement on the issue. In Tutrakan the Radical Democrats have called for a public discussion on the nationality problem.

Kostov Hints at Foreign Investment Potential

AU2402182091 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—"Apart from being a debtor Bulgaria may also turn out to be a big investor in third countries," Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, who is in charge of the government reform, told his voters in the city of Plovdiv today.

Mr. Kostov mentioned 250 joint-stock companies. So far, however, it is unknown how many of them have been privatized.

According to Mr. Kostov, the interests of the Bulgarian workers in the Soviet Republic of Komi are not firmly safeguarded, despite signed contracts. There is no information as to Bulgaria's stakes in big construction projects of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. All this is to be investigated by the special debt committee.

Mr. Kostov said he would consider the government program a success if the rate of the dollar against the leva, which is now 1:28 drops to 1:15 after February 25, when the loans from the International Monetary Fund are expected.

Mr. Kostov said the government will try to "take the monopolists by the throat and provide opportunities for those who are willing to produce and trade fairly". This will be achieved through government decrees aimed at establishing price control, and countering monopolists, and through a regulation concerning auctions, which the cabinet of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov will consider next week.

Deputy Minister Reports on Current Food Prices

AU2202144291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Dima Dimitrova report]

[Excerpts] "Gentlemen, you have no choice but to support the government," stated Prime Minister Dimitur Popov at a government meeting held on 19 February with leaders of companies and organizations in the food industry and trade.

The meeting discussed the problems of the economic reform, mainly the issues connected with the liberalization of prices. [passage omitted]

Valeri Tsekov, deputy minister of industry, trade, and services, said that in many places sales of food products are declining because of the high prices.

Supplies of milk and dairy products are returning to normal throughout the country, with the exception of Sofia. The price of fresh milk ranges from 1.58 to 2.10 leva per liter, and of sour milk—from 2.70 to 3.50 leva per kilogram. Butter prices are between 40 and 50 leva per kilogram. Cow's cheese is most expensive in Kurdzhali, at 22 leva, while elsewhere it is priced at 18-19 leva. This price is about 30 percent higher, however, than the government projection of 12.40 leva. Only in the Mikhaylovgrad district are dairy product prices within the range of the forecasts.

In northeast Bulgaria meat prices are close to those predicted. In other regions the meat processing plants buy pork from the producers at 9-12 leva and sell it at prices from 18.80 to 50 leva per kilogram. The sales volume has fallen sharply, and cases have been reported of meat being thrown away. There is a big demand for the cheaper salamis with a shorter shelf life, but the producers prefer to make the kinds that keep well. These very expensive delicatessen products, however, find no buyers in the market.

Bread production and consumption has declined. Bakery confectionery goods, whose prices are five or six times higher than the preliminary forecasts, are also hard to sell.

The situation is worst with olive oil and sugar. Although quantities have been released from the state reserves, they are in extremely short supply in the market.

Mr. Tsekov stated that the negotiations between the producers and the trade organizations were encountering great difficulties. [passage omitted]

Socialists Allegedly Stockpiled Newsprint

AU2402154891 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 19 Feb 91 p 2

[Bogdan Stefanov article]

[Text] Every day the Sofia dailies face, like the sword of Damocles, the crucial question of whether they will have enough newsprint to publish next day—not to mention the fact that in the provinces most of the newspapers have already suspended publication.

At the same time, new publications in Sofia are preparing to come out. What is suspicious in this is the fact that all of them will represent interests close to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. An alternative, communist version of the humorous weekly STURSHEL is expected to appear soon, as well as the KAMBANA literary newspaper, which personifies the eternally restless spirit of its editor in chief, Mr.

Nikola Indzhov, and a newspaper of the newly formed "Edinstvo" Trade Union, which has already become a mystical organization.

The most elementary question that anyone might ask is: Where does the newsprint come from for these new publications? Does it come from the stocks laid down long in advance by the far-sighted BSP, or from hitherto unknown newsprint stocks laid down by the nomenclatura?

We are all suffering from the shortage of newsprint, yet it appears that some people have abundant supplies, despite the fact that they complain louder than anyone else. Among these people I include the editor in chief of DUMA, who unfortunately is also chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union. This wakeful conscience rises in revolt only today, under the present government. Why did it not raise its head under the "competent" government of Mr. Lukanov, when the last dollars of the state's treasury were spent on everything under the sun, and this at a time when it was well known that we were bound to face a newsprint crisis sooner or later? Perhaps this too formed part of the strategic designs of the rebaptized party, for surely the elections were approaching, and it was necessary to sow distrust....

Increased Crime Rate, National 'Mafia' Reported

AU2402190091 Sofia BTA in English 1807 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—Recently, crime in Bulgaria has gone up. Informed sources say there is a well-organized Mafia in Bulgaria. Its members have at their disposal modern equipment and usually pull "big jobs".

During the past six months the number of undiscovered criminal offenses has gone up compared to the same period of 1989. Now discovered criminal offenses are 87.2.

Mr. Georgi Vladimirov, deputy director of the Police Criminal Department, says the crimes show an alarming tendency. Alongside traditional murders due to jealousy and drunken driving, there are also murders with intent to rob or to cover up other crimes. Moreover, most of the murders are sadistic, the murderers using hammers, choppers and shot guns. There are also cases of lynching.

Murders of old people have also increased.

The analysis of the crime statistics that the police has submitted to the BTA shows that offenders and murderers have grown extremely impudent.

Macedonian Societies Reject Forming Party

AU2402172991 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 19 Feb 91 p 3

[Milen Belchev report]

[Text] On 18 February the leadership of the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] Union of Macedonian Societies held a meeting with journalists in Sofia on the subject, "Foreign and Domestic Policy Aspects of the Macedonian Issue." In his expose, the union's deputy chairman, Mr. Stoyan G. Boyadzhiev spoke about the most important factors. Among these, he drew attention to the existence and authority of the VMRO-DPMNE [VMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which expresses the true ideas and aspirations of the people in this republic. Mr. Boyadzhiev emphasized that no links existed between the two organizations, but said that they were united by the VMRO ideals.

In the foreign policy context, the speaker specially emphasized the fact that VMRO Union of Macedonian Societies is a supra-party public organization with the principal aim of fostering the moral unity of the Bulgarian people.

The VMRO Union of Macedonian Societies is categorically against the formation of a Macedonian party. The public is already well aware that today Mr. Khristofor Tzavela has begun proceedings to register such a party. Mr. Veniamin Terziev stated that the ethnic nature of this party is evident from its Code of Regulations, which contains no mention of the party's ideology. According to Mr. Krasimir Karakachanov, the issue is a moral one, because the formation of such a party will restrict people of all political hues from joining the movement of the Macedonian Bulgarians. To summarize, no one splits a movement to unite it.

Socialist Artists Federation Founded

AU2502105891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Feb 91 p 2

[Mila Vacheva report: "More Than 1,000 Leftist Intellectuals Founded Their Federation"]

[Text] On 20 February in Sofia the Federation of the Clubs of the Artistic-Creative Intelligentsia Socialists was founded. It aims at coordinating the work of the separate specialized clubs. The federation unites more than 1,000 writers, painters, actors, cinematographers, translators, and so forth.

The constituent conference adopted the federation's charter. It points out that the federation's immediate goals are the analysis and protection of the national cultural traditions, protecting talent, opposing negativism and conservatism, and conducting propaganda and information-publishing activity. It was announced that the first issue of the KAMBANA [Bell] independent culture weekly will be published on 3 March. Nikola Indzhov will be the weekly's chief editor.

The Club of Socialist Painters issued an appeal, addressed to the president and the prime minister, which calls for the establishment of a legisaltive commission to determine the fate of cultural monuments, which are increasingly the target of vandalism.

Dienstbier Remarks on Abolishing Warsaw Treaty

LD2402213391 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier is heading the Czechoslovak state delegation to the extraordinary session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, which will open in Budapest tomorrow. In a conversation with journalists during the flight to the Hungarian capital, Jiri Dienstbier voiced the view that an agreement on disbanding the military structures of this alliance will be signed. He added that the participants of the meeting must discuss the date of the Warsaw Treaty abolition.

Jiri Dienstbier noted that the two options exist: Either at least one commission of the Treaty will remain until the Helsinki conference, or the Warsaw Pact will be abolished and a special coordination commission will be formed from its former member countries, which would participate in talks on the composition of conventional forces until the Helsinki meeting.

Latest Figures on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU2202142891 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)— [passage omitted] All but one unit of the total of 73,000 Soviet soldiers stationed in Czechoslovakia from the 1968 Soviet-led invasion by five Warsaw Pact countries had left the country by February 19. The remaining regiment at the troops' command at Milovice, Central Bohemia, [composed of] 29 tanks, 152 infantry combat vehicles and armored carriers, and 30 artillery pieces will be withdrawn by the end of May, one month earlier than set by the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement of February 26, 1990.

Interior Ministry Spokesman on Soviet Deserters

LD2302105791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Interview with Martin Fendrych, press spokesman of the CSFR Federal Interior Ministry, by Ales Svoboda; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Several of our newspapers cited yesterday the words of Colonel-General Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Troops, that the Soviet Army deserters are allegedly being dragged to refugee camps instead of being handed over to the Soviet side, and that our representatives are encouraging them to proclaim themselves to be political refugees. Mr. Vorobyev also said that at the present time, a certian soldier (Kuzevanov), who has already been granted the permission to stay in this country, is on the turn and is being prevented from meeting with Soviet representatives. Ales Svoboda therefore asked Martin Fendrych, press spokesman of the Federal Interior Ministry, to give his view on this issue.

[Svoboda] Mr. Fendrych, I suggest that we deal with General Vorobyev's proclamations one at a time. Let us talk first about the 1983 agreement on legal norms, which General (Vorobyev) mentioned in his interview for a reporter of Soviet PRAVDA. What can you say about this agreement?

[Fendrych] No such agreement from 1983 exists.

[Svoboda] Let us go to another point. The general based his arguments in the interview for PRAVDA on the example of soldiers (Zarypov) and (Naumov) who—as our listeners know—have asked our authorities for political asylum. He says that they had been detained by our police in some shop and then became political refugees, but after talking to their parents, who came to visit them in Czechoslovakia, they took back their proclamation and admitted that they had been encouraged to do so by Czechoslovak representatives.

[Fendrych] What General Vorobyev says are half-truths. In reality (Naumov) and (Zarypov) were deserters who left the Soviet Army and spent about two months traveling on our territory. During that time they were helped by our citizens who gave them food and clothes. In the end they were found by the police, who handed them over to the Passport Office, because both deserters expressed a wish to ask for refugee status in Czechoslovakia. (Naumov) and (Zarypov) later met their mothers—we arranged this meeting—and after the talk with their mothers both of them gradually decided to return to the Soviet Army. The fact is that their mothers almost certainly put both boys under some kind of pressure, since they both said that they are not returning out of their own will but that they simply have no other choice.

[Svoboda] Let us now talk about the last thing—soldier (Kuzevanov). Does he really have permission to stay? Who is hiding him here and why—and who is preventing him from meeting the Soviet Army command?

[Fendrych] Aleksandr Kuzevanov is not on the run, nor does he have permission to stay. The reason for this is that he had also been a deserter who asked to be granted refugee status in Czechoslovakia. He was granted this status in January of this year, which means that he does not need any permission to stay since he has the refugee status and has the same rights as our Czechoslovak citizens, except the right to serve in the Army and to vote.

[Svoboda] My last question concerns the present situation of Soviet Army deserters on our territory. What is it like?

[Fendrych] We have other cases of desertion from the Soviet Army. I must say, though, that we do not regard these people as deserters but as refugees, since they are asking our authorities for refugee status. The Soviet side keeps insisting on organizing meetings with parents of these, as they say, deserters. We will, however, allow these meetings only if the soldiers are willing and want to meet their parents. They are not interested now. We

have written statements from them that they do not wish to meet their parents and that is why we will not allow such meetings.

Radio Commentary Views Gulf Issues, Soviet Role

LD2402151291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Sunday foreign political commentary by Vera Stevickova-Heroldova]

[Excerpts] Commenting on events that are still being played out is a thankless task, because in the Middle East the situation is changing constantly—at first from one day to the next, and just lately with every passing hour. Up to the last minute there was uncertainty: Would we see a sudden truce or would the allies' expected ground offensive really happen?

As we know, the offensive began at 0200 our time last night. Iraqi President Saddam Husayn's stubbornness in insisting that he would keep possession of Kuwait was a pointer that the latter variant would be applied, and that the Kuwaiti desert would be the theater for a decisive battle. While there is no doubt who the victors will be, it is a terrible thought that before his downfall Husayn, an adventurist without the slightest sense of responsibility, would go as far as to contaminate the country with poison gas, set the oil ablaze, and instill a desire for revenge in Muslim hearts around the world.

With the moment for the ground offensive approaching fast, there was a surprise intervention by the Soviet Union which announced that it had a peace plan and, of its own accord, offered Husayn another truce. It was clear to the dictator that if he accepted the UN resolution he really would have to get out of Kuwait, but this truce offered him the hope of survival, and perhaps more than just physical survival, so he accepted the Soviet offer. At that moment, it can be said, the Soviets were dealing the cards for a new game. The question I ask is this: Did Saddam Husayn, who up to that moment had refused to be bound by the UN Security Council resolution, expect such a gesture from a friendly power?

According to former minister Shevardnadze, Moscow had a peace plan drawn up as far back as January, so the surprise is not the fact that Moscow presented the plan, but rather its timing in doing so—not until the eve of the decisive battle, the 12th hour when Husayn had used up every last inch of maneuvering space. The Soviet Union presented its allies in the anti-Iraqi coalition with a fait accompli in an attempt to become the preserver of peace, and President Gorbachev saw that, despite the setbacks at home, his word in foreign policy still carried weight. Had he succeeded in getting Husayn, a long-standing Soviet protege, out of Kuwait with good grace, he would have given him the opportunity of escaping with a much lighter punishment than the United States has been demanding, and the Iraq of the future would have felt obliged to Gorbachev. Moscow, as the organizer and initiator of a peaceful solution, would have the right to a much more emphatic say in the postwar setup in the Middle East than it can after a military campaign in which it has not taken part alongside the allies.

But there is something else too: To those who had already begun to wonder, Moscow gave a reminder that despite internal chaos, the Soviet Union is still a superpower—a smart move, but one which came too late. It would also have meant that after transporting their military hardware to the Gulf and making costly air preparations, the allies would have to resign themselves to giving up a victory that was within their grasp; a stolen victory, to borrow a phrase from THE LOS ANGELES TIMES. [passage omitted]

The diplomatic war of plans was only a prelude to talks on the future of the Middle East, in diplomatic parlance "ensuring peace and stability in the region," which has been rightly viewed for a long time as a powder keg. It is symptomatic that the powder keg had to blow up before a serious process was implemented at the international level to seek a solution. In essence, this will be a matter of setting up a security systerm and controls on the buildup of arms, creating conditions for the economic development of all the states in the region, including those that do not have oil, and resolving the Arab-Israeli confict. The Americans, the Soviets, and the West European countries all have their own proposals because they all have their own interests in the oil region. The Arab states have, above all, an interest in a change of regime in Iraq, which they perceive as a constant threat.

The most complex reaction is that of Israel. Today's politicians want Israel to propose a peace initiative of its own before it is obliged to do so by the international community. Prime Minister Shamir, however, is in no hurry. So far he has refused to negotiate with the PLO on the grounds that they are terrorists, and now he hopes that with 'Arafat compromising himself by siding with Saddam Husayn, it will be possihble to hold elections in the occupied territories that could introduce new negotiators. All these and much more are the stakes in the game that will get under way once Husayn's Kuwaiti adventure is brought to a close.

And the conclusion? This time there is not one. Who would be bold enough to draw conclusions when a new page in the drama of Kuwait was turned only this morning?

Havel Discusses Assembly Sitting, Gulf Crisis

LD2402225591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1315 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by Kiri Vejvoda at Lany Castle on 23 February—recorded: "Conversations at Lany"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vejvoda] How do you assess the February 1948 events? What do you have to say about it a year after your speech on this subject?

[Havel] In my speech last year, I expressed my belief, my conviction, that February 1948 was, in fact, a putsch. This is still my conviction, and, to be honest, I am a bit alarmed by the fact—about which I spoke in these conversations already several times—the fact that our democratic society, which is still being formed, has not managed to deal in a more unequivocal way with the whole period of our past, the period of 40 years of communism. I think that it is necessary to give a correct name to all this. It is necessary to carry out an historical analysis, which should assume, at the same time, the form of a political document—be it a government or legislative document—that should become a starting point on which legislative steps could be based. We always witness the situation where some law is being discussed in the legislature and a residue of the past emerges, provoking an historical, philosophical, political, theoretical, and ideological debate in the legislature that lasts one or two hours, and this delays the deliberation about paragraphs under consideration. It is natural that this is happening. The principal view taken by our society is clear; our society expressed it in free elections and during the revolution; the general view is unequivocal. Nevertheless, it has not been formulated in a document yet which would clearly name certain things and clearly decide certain questions. It would be a document on which work on various laws concerning our past, in one way or another, could be based. [passage omitted]

[Vejvoda] I would like to return to what you have already mentioned. Despite the fact that it appeared very agitated, this week's session of the legislature has turned out well for once.

[Havel] My impression is that despite the doubts that we sometimes have about the legislature and its work, when the deputies feel the need to reiterate in the Plenum the matters that were discussed and hammered out in the committee and so on and so forth, and despite the fact that for many of them this is a matter of showing off rather than specific work on the laws, despite all this, the legislature still functions as a democratic body. One can hear there the most varied and most contradictory views, but ultimately, under any kind of dramatic circumstances, it can make a decision and ratify a law, and it is likely that these laws are truly in keeping with the general will in the shape in which it is conveyed in the legislature.

[Vejvoda] In this context, what is your view of certain seemingly very minor attempts to cast doubt, from outside as it were, on the work of the legislature, or perhaps even the government?

[Havel] Demonstration of extraparliamentary activity is a part of democracy. We know that this is a practice in various countries. I think that this fact in itself is not alarming. Nevertheless, one must realize that in our situation, when democracy is so fragile, so very young, so new and inexperienced, these various demonstrations—no matter whether they are of leftist, rightist, or any other origin—they can, naturally, have a destabilizing effect, perhaps an even greater one than in the democracies with already well-tried rules of the game which are stabilized and which have been functioning well for many years. It seems that those who organize the demonstrations of disagreement should consider their moves and actions in a very responsible manner. To attack this power is terribly easy, considering. It is, in fact, the simplest thing that can be done. All of us are dissatisfied with the state of affairs, all of us know that many things should take place quicker, and all of us know that we are fighting problems that are brand new, where there is a chance to make wrong moves and so on. But, both the government and the legislature are doing all they can while being fully aware of their responsibility. I do not consider offers of some kind of dicey social guarantees to be very responsible; that is, the type of guarantees that everyone knows cannot be put to the people under the present state of our economy. It seems to me that the general public is once again wiser and knows better than the numerous agitators who appeared, no matter whether they arrived from California or from any other place.

[Vejvoda] Mr. President, you are speaking into our radio microphone at a time when the U.S. ultimatum—if I can call it that—to Iraq and Saddam Husayn that he should begin to withdraw from Kuwait is just running out. This week, there have been a number of diplomatic negotitions regarding the Persian Gulf. Are you following the events?

[Havel] Yes, I am following the events very closely, of course, probably like all of us, and it seems to me that the time has indeed come for something to happen. It is impossible to prolong the situation any further or sacrifice more human lives, and Saddam Husayn cannot play for time indefinitely and try all manner of deceptive and ambiguous games. The attempts at a peaceful resolution have been exhausted, it seems, and I fully understand President Bush expressing himself as forcefuly as he has. The situation, I imagine, will be assessed in the next few days, or perhaps hours, by the Security Council, and we will respect the will of the international community as expressed by the Council. [passage omitted]

Klaus Explains Privatization Bill to Deputies

LD2202221291 Prague CTK in English 1642 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—Father of the Czechoslovak economic reform Vaclav Klaus stated today that the privatization of state enterprises could start in the second half of the year. In a parliamentary debate on the transformation bill (bill on big privatization) he argued with a communist deputy who claimed that the wording of the discussed document "will give power to state bureaucrats" and said that on the contrary "it eliminates it completely". The deputy, chairman of the Communist

Party of Czechoslovakia Jiri Svoboda said that transformation will lead to the "concentration of power in the hands of the government".

According to Czechoslovak Finance Minister Klaus privatization of state enterprises is, on the contrary, based on the principle of great decentralization. The individual enterprises will elaborate their own privatization projects which will be approved by the founder, i.e. the Ministries of Industry of the Czech and the Slovak Republics. Only a part of enterprises will be within the competence of the federal ministry.

Jan Kobylka, Civic Forum deputy, argued with several communist deputies and claimed that the majority of state enterprises in Czechoslovakia are "still in the hands of communists".

The debate on the transformation bill was postponed until next Tuesday. Federal parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek even did not put to the vote the proposal put forward by another communist deputy and demanding that the Federal Assembly should adopt a stand on the current development in the Gulf in which it would support "the peace initiative of the Soviet Union". The vote on the motion could not be taken as the necessary majority of deputies were not present.

Debate Begins

LD2102235391 Prague CTK in English 2228 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus today presented to the Czechoslovak parliament a bill on "big privatization" and called it a "crucial element in transforming the economy to a market system".

His expose was followed by the speech of a communist deputy, Jozef Kosnar, who presented a communist draft law on privatization.

Under the government bill, privatization projects will be worked out for the enterprises concerned on a case-by-case basis and will be approved by the privatization ministries of the Czech and Slovak governments.

National wealth trusts that will be set up will represent the state for the purpose of the sale. The trustees will be appointed by the government and the boards of governors by the parliament.

Klaus said that standard as well as non-standard methods are to be used, the latter including investment coupons. He stressed the close links with the law on the restitution of property approved earlier today and noted that after the law dividing powers between the two national republics has been approved, privatization will mainly take place on the level of the republics. Klaus said that property worth some 150,000 million crowns [korunas] is now under the federal government jurisdiction.

Arguing against views critical of the coupon method of privatization he said that any other form would prolong the agony of the Czechoslovak nationalized economy. On the contrary, quick denationalization would reverse the unfavourable tendency in our economy, he said.

The communist bill presented by Jozef Kosnar provided for the establishment of economic reconstruction funds which, he said, could serve as initial capital for citizens and specialized programs. The bill was presented as a constitutional draft law because in the opinion of its authors such an important matter as privatization required this kind of law.

The government bill was recommended for approval by the rapporteurs of both houses of the federal parliament. In first speeches in the debate it received support from Civic Forum deputies while all communist deputies rejected the government draft.

Calfa on Rehabilitation, Upcoming Demonstrations

LD2302130891

[Editorial Report] Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak at 1850 GMT on 22 February carries its regular live or recorded "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister" interview program with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa. Calfa is interviewed by an unidentified reporter at the Federal Assembly in Prague on 22 February.

The program begins with a question about a bill on nonjudicial rehabilitations that was passed by the Federal Assembly on 21 February. Calfa explains that the purpose of this law is the restitution of property—an act complementing court rehabilitations. These two levels of rehabilitations should put an end to wrongdoings of the past, says Calfa, emphasizing the law's moral significance.

Asked how he feels about having presented the bill on nonjudicial rehabilitation with which the Slovak Government did not agree, given the fact that he is a member of Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, as is Slovak Prime Minister Meciar, Calfa points out that in fact this bill was approved by the Slovak Government in October 1990 and that the VPN Deputies' Club supported this bill during deliberations in the legislature. The Slovak Government took a negative stance on the bill only on 19 February, just a few hours before the beginning of deliberations about this bill in the legislature, says Calfa.

Calfa wonders what the reason was for the Slovak Government to fundamentally change its stance from a positive one to a negative one in just three months' time. He goes on to emphasize the moral obligation to return one way or another the property illegally taken away by the state from original owners after 25 February 1948. The restitution process is a necessary part of privatization in Czechoslovakia, he says.

Asked what he expects from the forthcoming congresses of the Civic Forum (OF) and the Public Against Violence, Calfa stresses that they will be of great importance. He goes on to point out that the VPN congress will outline the fundamental political guidelines of the movement. As for the Civic Forum congress, Calfa notes that this movement has been currently going through a phase of redefining itself and expresses hope that the OF position will be clarified at the congress.

Asked about the federal government's attitude toward the demonstrations that are being prepared for the anniversary of the communist takeover on 25 February 1948, Calfa says:

"The federal government did not take any stance on this issue as it consists on the federal level of three coalition partners—Civic Forum, Public Against Violence, and Christian Democratic Movement—and the appeals calling for such demonstrations were presented by political movements that are not represented either in the government or in the Federal Assembly. Therefore, the fundamental question is: What kind of an appeal is it?

"According to reports in our press, this appeal is against government policy, against legislative policy—therefore against the policy of those forces that won elections. We therefore assume that this appeal is in fact against the conclusions, against the results of our elections that were the first democratic elections. That is why it is, in fact, some kind of an appeal against democratic elections.

"I do not consider it necessary to take any stance on it—I just would like to make sure that our citizens are really aware of who organizes these demonstrations and what their aim is."

Commentary on Possible Coalition Formations

AU2402202291 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Feb 91 p 3

[Petr Novacek commentary: "Two Blocs on the Scene"]

[Text] Only a few extraparliamentary parties have, so far, had the courage to declare—for example, with the coarse directness of Sladek's Association for the Republic or, more recently, the milder statements of the Social Democrats—that they do not believe the government coalition will last until spring 1992 when the next legislative elections are due to be held. Moreover, the difficult and painful course of economic reform and the multiplying conflicts in the legislature, activated (if not directly caused) by the split within the Civic Forum, are generating an accelerated regrouping of forces on the political scene in case the parties should be prematurely matched against each other in new elections followed by the distribution of legislative and government seats.

Two political blocs—left and right of center—are being quite perceptively formed step by step. The cornerstone of the left of center is, undoubtedly, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party [CSSD] whose Horak leadership realized, after last year's electoral failure, that the five percent barrier for entry into the legislature, if it applies in the next elections, can be more reliably overcome with allies. Hardly a week goes by without representatives from the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Green Party, the Revival Club, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Farmers' Movement, and the Agrarian Party meeting with CSSD representatives in Lidovy Dum [People's House] and without some kind of common point of view being issued on this or that topical problem. This octet has officially declared from Lidovy Dum that, at the moment, it is merely discussing an ideological rapprochement. However, its members unofficially concede that, by way of the gradual fine tuning of viewpoints, they are heading toward an electoral coalition.

A bloc calling itself the Democratic Right-Wing (DP) is also being formed on the reverse side of the center. Following numerous consultative meetings—which have been taking place since last autumn—the following parties and organizations belong to it today: KAN [Club of Committed Nonparty Members], Democratic Right-Wing Club-Movement for Civil Liberty, Benda's Christian Democratic Party [KDS], Mandler's Liberal Democratic Party, Bratinka's Civic Democratic Alliance, Zahorsky's Republican Union, and apparently the Confederation of Political Prisoners as well as—and this is particularly interesting—the Civic Forum Prague Council. Virtually all of this right-wing octet belonged to the Civic Forum; however, its right-wing party orientation made coexistence with the Forum impossible. The fact that at Monday's [18 February] press briefing, M. Kondr, Prague Council chairman and, at the same time, the Civic Forum's second deputy chairman and V. Klaus' "dependable man," spoke about the DP bloc with great sympathy has to be perceived as a sign of a possible coalition partnership between Klaus' Civic Democratic Party—which could perhaps be constituted under this name from the right-wing within the Civic Forum—and the Democratic Right-Wing. The DP insists about itself that, so far, it is only united in its close policy aims; however, its representatives again concede in private conversations that they are aiming for a right-of-center electoral coalition.

Obviously, there are still many ambiguities here. For example, how the CSL will behave: Its heart certainly tugs it toward the vision of a Christian democratic bloc, but—undoubtedly—the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement would belong to it. Thanks to J. Carnogursky, this bloc would hardly be acceptable to Czech voters. On the other hand, an alliance—especially with the Social Democrats—would probably lend an undesirable left-wing affinity to the People's Party. Benda's KDS will also have to decide with whom it will go into the elections. It certainly belongs more with the CSL on account of its Christian basis. However, it is pressing Benda for a merger—a 100,000-strong party with a

3,000-strong party.... This is to say nothing of the fact that the specter of J. Carnogursky would still be hanging over this possible unequal alliance. In any case, both the above-mentioned blocs are very circumspectly—step by step—fine tuning their opinions. This way we should have firm and well prepared-formations for the election struggle. More effective policy is made from deputies' and government seats, and the players in both octets know that they will achieve this most reliably of all by bringing together common—often not very large—forces.

Civic Forum To Divide Into Two Bodies

LD2202223191 Prague CTK in English 2003 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—The Council of the Civic Forum (OF), the body ruling the largest Czech political movement between its congresses, reached agreement today to propose the movement's division into two entities with one umbrella body to OF's extraordinary congress tomorrow. The agreement respects what is known as "the Lany accord"—a compromise reached by OF founders and leaders including President Vaclav Havel on February 10. The Council failed to reach a united stand on the Lany proposal on its first attempt last Tuesday but decided today to go with one blueprint before the congress tomorrow. It provides for the founding of two groups, e.g. a Civic Democratic Party and a Civic Liberal Movement, OF Second Deputy Chairman Milan Kondr told CTK. A body that would be above them in the first phase would be a provisional coordinating committee which should be elected at tomorrow's congress. It will be replaced later by a permanent committee on which both groups, actually independent political entities, would be represented on a 50-50 per cent basis. The committee would play a role for instance in the division of OF's property between the two groups.

Kondr, who is a leader in the group favouring a party, said that collective members will hardly be registered under the party wing but did not rule out that they may remain in the half of the Civic Forum which prefers to remain to be structured as a movement. Spokesman for this stream is now OF First Deputy Chairman Lubor Kinst.

The latest OF congress in January voted to turn the Civic Forum into a party but protests from the wing favouring a looser structure and the legal problems involved, such as the legitimacy of OF deputies if it ceased to exist as a legal entity or the problem of its property, made both sides reconsider their attitudes.

OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus, federal finance minister and architect of the economic reform, identified himself with this solution earlier this month. He is associated with the wing which wants a party with clearly defined authorities, responsibilities and membership.

Klaus, Rychetsky Preview Emerging Parties' Platforms

LD2302224191 Prague CTK in English 2120 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—No changes in the Czechoslovak Government are considered after the strongest coalition partner, the Civic Forum [OF], today split into two political subjects, Vaclav Klaus, until today OF chairman, and Pavel Rychetsky told journalists in conclusion of the special OF congress.

Klaus said that the political party which will be constituted from one part of OF followers will be open to all Czechoslovak citizens, while it does not want to violate its relations with its coalition partner in Slovakia, the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement.

Rychetsky, representing the other wing which will constitute itself into a civic political movement, said the "liberals" will unequivocally support the idea of a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks on democratic principles which recognizes the identity of both nations. They will cooperate with all democratic forces in Bohemia and Slovakia which defend the idea of a joint federative state. One of them is beyond any doubt the Public Against Violence, Rychetsky said.

He added the future civic movement will try to stand in the political centre. The liberal wing will present its program within three weeks, Rychetsky said. The program of the "civic party" was worked out already at the OF congress last January.

Asked whether he will run for chairmanship of the newly emerging party, Klaus said he would feel honoured if he were nominated for the post.

New 'Civic Movement' Begins Signature Collection

LD2402145591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Following yesterday's Civic Forum congress, Civic Forum supporters constituting the civic political movement held a meeting in the Ypsilon Theater in Prague. They began to collect the necessary 1,000 signatures required to register a new political group under the name of the Civic Movement [Obcanske Hnuti]. They also agreed that a Civic Movement preparatory committee would begin to operate immediately on the principles of its own statutes and on the platform of a political program focusing on specific issues and constructive ways of dealing with them.

Federal Deputy Prime Minister Jiri Dienstbier described the newly emerging group as a movement that would try to win people over, not antagonize them. In his view, no system of political vetting should be permitted.

OF's 'Klaus Wing' Named Civic Democratic Party

LD2402211791 Prague CTK in English 1735 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 24 (CTK)—One of the two political subjects into which the Civic Forum (OF) split yesterday, which is being formed from the so-called Klaus' wing of OF, will have the working name "Civic Democratic Party" (ODS).

This part of the Civic Forum has been ahead of the other part, the Civic Movement, in preparation for its constitution. Its followers were distributed last night an information leaflet with a preliminary registration label. The Civic Movement started also last night to collect the 1,000 signatures necessary for registration of a new political grouping.

Former OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus nominated an ODS preparatory committee which includes former Second OF Deputy Chairman Milan Kondr.

According to the leaflet, the Civic Democratic Party will be built up on the basis of the program and principles of organization as they were approved at the January OF Congress which favoured the idea of making OF into a party. The new party is to associate people capable to shoulder responsibility. It will follow up the traditions of European Christian civilization, the humanistic and democratic traditions of the pre-Munich republic (1918-1938) and the experience of the present Western democracies. It resolutely and entirely rejects Marxist and Leninist ideology, and all trends towards socialization and collectivization in the economy and politics are alien to it.

In the preliminary registration form, those interested in ODS membership are asked to state whether they were or not members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It is evident from the form that excluded from membership will be members of other political parties and former members of the People's Militia (former paramilitary force of the Communist Party) and workers or collaborators of the former secret police (STB).

Yesterday, Jiri Dienstbier said no screening should be done in the other grouping, the Civic Movement. A number of personalities who are expected to join the movement are former reform Communists, expelled from the party after a Soviet-led invasion crushed the revival process in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Liberals Win Dispute Over OF Assembly Delegates

AU2202131691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Feb 91 p 3

[CTK report. "On the Eve of the Civic Forum Assembly"]

[Excerpt] The Arbitration Commission of the Civic Forum [OF] Republican Assembly yesterday delivered its opinion on the conflict that arose within the OF regarding the selection of delegates for the OF assembly [called for 23 February]. The commission reached the conclusion that the OF Council reconsidered its original position, which had been criticized by the OF Liberal Club, by having released a new resolution stating, among other things, that "the participants in the 23 February assembly will be delegated in the same manner as delegates to the previous assembly." The Arbitration Commission notes that the cause of the above dispute has been eliminated by this OF Council statement. The current OF statutes and the current formula for the selection of delegates retain their validity. [passage omitted]

Czech Government Approves More Funds for Moravia

AU2202142291 Prague CTK in English 2210 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)— The Moravian regional capital of Brno will receive 400 million crowns [korunas-]from the budgetary reserves of the Czech Republic, at the proposal of Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart.

Half of the amount is to be spent on the neglected infrastructure while the city itself is to decide how it will spend the other half.

One hundred million is being released for the completion of a hospital at Brno-Bohunice.

The information was given today by Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart. He said that he defended Moravian interests perhaps more emphatically than Moravian deputies who walked out of the session of the Czech parliament last week and have since decided not to participate in its work.

Pithart said that also some districts in East Bohemia would receive additional funding.

Jan Prikryl, government official in charge of the resettlement of ethnic Czechs from the Volhynia region in the Soviet Union, said that the first three villages in West and North Bohemia would probably receive their new inhabitants next month. About 1,000 people should come from the areas affected by the 1986 nuclear power plant accident at Chernobyl by September. The government has earmarked about 60 million crowns for the resettlement, over half of it in credits.

Pithart on Moravia's Demand for Autonomy

AU2402214591 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 21 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Marie Gabrielova at a news conference with Czech Republic Government members on 20 February: "The

Government Is Sticking to Its Position"; first paragraph is SVOBODNE SLOVO introduction]

[Text] The Club of Deputies of the Movement for Self Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS] decided on Tuesday [19 February] that it will leave the Czech Government coalition and its deputies will not, until further notice, participate in the Czech National Council's sessions. At a news conference with Czech Government members yesterday, I asked Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart what it would mean if they really stopped coming to the legislature. He told us, among other things:

[Pithart] In my opinion, they would cease to be deputies and all the consequences would have to be drawn from this fact. This may be exactly why they are leaving the back door open by saying, not quite clearly, that they are leaving the Czech Government coalition, yet remaining members of the legislative coalition.

[Gabrielova] Would it be necessary to elect or to appoint new deputies, then?

[Pithart] You should address this question to Czech National Council Chairwoman D. Buresova. I would like to say something about this problem. The Czech Government has been under critical fire from Moravian "hawks" because it changed its position on the land arrangement issue. Moravia is displeased with the Czech National Council's resolution, and I can quite understand that. Yet the Czech National Council's position is not in direct contradiction to the Czech Government's position. While the government has dealt with this problem for many months, the Czech Council has never tabled this issue. (Some deputies, not only HSD-SMS deputies, tried to table this issue in the Czech National Council before—editorial note.) This is why the Czech National Council decided that it will consider all four alternatives. However, the government is sticking to its position. I am going to take the floor at the Czech National Council's meeting next Wednesday [27 February], and I hope that I will manage not only to confirm it, but also to expand it in a way that should soothe Moravia. We are of the opinion that there are only two convenient alternatives for Moravia to be considered.

Meciar Comments on Moravian, Silesian Issue

AU2502093891 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 20 Feb 91 p 1

["(zjk)"-signed report: "The Solution Should Not Be Hasty"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—Slovakia has caught Moravia's attention. The first visits paid to Bratislava by political representatives from Moravia signal this fact, and yet more delegations have been announced.

At yesterday's news conference in Bratislava, Prime Minister Meciar commented on this fact by saying: "We agree that Moravians should take their own course of action—which they consider as proper—that would allow them to achieve their rights, yet they should not fight for their rights to the detriment of Slovaks. We are not obstructing them in anything.

"As far as Slovakia's position is concerned, the matter is quite clear. We have only expressed what we said to Docent Barta and to other delegations: In the case of a tripartite federation's being established, we will adopt our own standpoint on supreme bodies. We have not told anyone what this standpoint is, we are waiting until Moravia and Silesia mature politically—we do not want to accelerate anything. We are also recommending to others that they wait. We were assured by Mr. Pithart in the Vikarka restaurant that Moravian and Silesian status will be resolved within the framework of the Czech Republic, which is an assumption that does not appear to be completely correct, as far as I am concerned. There is no rush, we must wait until the decisions made by the people in Moravia become clear." [passage omitted]

Czech Attacks on Slovak Politicians Rejected

AU2202132891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Feb 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Questioning of Slovak Representatives; What Does Not Serve the Interest To Retain the Czechs' and Slovaks' Common State"]

[Text] Some influential Prague newspapers are persistently trying to discredit Slovak political representatives in the eyes of Czech readers. Before the legislative elections in June, their main target was Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, who in a calm but emphatic tone upholds Slovakia's claim to the independent presentation of its interests in the community of European nations. Ignoring the broader context of Carnogursky's concept for the solution of the so-called Slovak question within the Czech-Slovak framework, they regarded him as an heir to the traditions of the independent Slovak state [of 1939 to 1945]. The critics of Slovak neoseparatism have not managed to shed the burden of the simplified historical model of Czech-Slovak relations as it existed during the 20 years of the Czechoslovak Republic [1918 to 1938]. This model has, moreover, been petrified by the practice of the four decades of the totalitarian regime so it has almost become ingrained in the genetic code of Czech political thinking.

After the talks of Triencanske Teplice [on division of powers between the federation and the republics held in August 1990], it was Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar who became the target of a Czech political grudge because of his vehement campaign for the settlement of the Czech-Slovak relationship on the basis of partnership. The campaign against his person has almost reached the level of scandalizing and, most recently, his critics have even had to resort to claims that have no foundation in reality. Yesterday's issue of LIDOVE

NOVINY furnished the latest evidence of this when the author, in otherwise warranted polemics with Meciar's Sunday [17 February] television speech, did not shy away from an invented piece of gossip to prove Meciar's negative political profile. What is paradoxical in this context is that the LIDOVE NOVINY writer comes from circles of the Civic Forum [OF] that are closer to Meciar's Public Against Violence movement than they are to the OF faction of [Vaclav] Klaus.

Many Czech politicians, irrespective of their party affiliation, have problems orienting themselves in the situation on the Slovak political scene. What is even less beneficial for Czech-Slovak relations is that the Prague center is unable to become reconciled to the fact that the present Slovak political representation won the support of the majority in democratic elections. The questioning of the authority of Slovak political representatives may be to the taste of the Czech petit bourgeois, but it does not serve the interest to retain the Czechs' and Slovaks' common state. The originators of the attacks on the dominant figures of the Slovak political scene lack a realistic vision, without which it is impossible to tackle the complex problems burdening the process of Czech-Slovak settlement that has been embarked upon. If they remind Slovaks that "a state that constitutes itself on undemocratic national or confessional flag-waving and on holy rights wrenched out through defiance that it then turns into laws is doomed to vegetate," they demonstrate that they understand the so-called Slovak question no more than [former Czechoslovak President] Dr. Edvard Benes, who did not arrive at an understanding of it until his death.

Meciar Criticizes Pithart Remarks, Assembly

AU2202140291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Feb 91 p 2

[Alena Melicharkova report: "Implementing Specific Slovak Issues"]

[Excerpts] During a break in proceedings at the Slovak Government session yesterday, Prime Minister V. Meciar reacted to a statement made by Prime Minister P. Pithart in which he "accused" the Slovak prime minister of inclining toward a confederation. Vladimir Meciar expressed his surprise that such an important political figure as Mr. Pithart would comment on remarks which he had not heard. He stated that before making his Sunday [17 February] evening television address (the misunderstanding centers around it), both republican prime ministers spoke twice to each other by telephone. However, he did not say what they discussed.

The most burning issues discussed at yesterday's Slovak Government session were the Federal Assembly deputies' amendments to the draft law on extrajudicial rehabilitation. The Slovak prime minister said the following apropos this issue: "If a legal amendment were to be adopted in the form proposed, we would not be capable as a government of fulfilling any of the points we promised citizens we would fulfill in our policy statement. There would simply be no resources for them." [passage omitted]

In reply to a question on whether we may expect invectives to be targeted against Slovaks because we are again ruining something, the prime minister said: "It now has to be said that Slovaks are protecting something. For example, it is necessary to calculate that financial settlements for immigrants alone could come to 60 billion korunas." He also stated: "I think political differentiation will continue in the legislature. The legislature has already held us up in some issues. We cannot transfer to large-scale privatization or develop relations with foreign countries." In this connection, he declared self-critically: "I am also a legislative deputy, and I have to look critically at myself. Obviously, following all the discussions about deputies' nonparticipation, I will have to consider my role in the legislature (in the Federal Assembly) and, in as short a time as possible, give it up in favor of someone who will go and sit there." [passage omitted]

Meciar Denies Authenticity of Quote in Paper

AU2202133291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Feb 91 p 2

["am"-signed report on statement by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar; place and date not given: "Fabrication"]

[Text] On the front page of the Tuesday [19 February] issue of LIDOVE NOVINY, editor Jan Urban writes, among other things, about an alleged statement by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar that he will resign [from the post of prime minister] if not elected chairman of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] at the forthcoming VPN assembly [called for 23 February]. Czechoslovak Radio has launched a campaign over this "statement." How does the Slovak prime minister react to this?

[Meciar] "It is a sick fabrication of Mr. Urban. I was leaving the [17 February] meeting [of leading Czech, Slovak, and federal politicians] in the Vikarka restaurant that he refers to at the same time as everyone else, after it ended. I did not speak to any of the journalists. The only thing I discussed, but with my colleagues [rather than with journalists], was the problem of the restitution law."

Gal on Prime Minister Meciar's 'Negative Traits'

AU2502132991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Feb 91 p 13

["Excerpts" from an interview with Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement, by an unidentified reporter of the weekly

KULTURNY ZIVOT; place and date not given—reprinted from KULTURNY ZIVOT issue No. 8/1991]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [KULTURNY ZIVOT] What do you like and what do you dislike about [Slovak Prime Minister] V. Meciar? What is your relationship like?

[Gal] Vladimir Meciar is prime minister on whose nomination the movement's leadership had agreed, and I personally supported his candidacy for that post. The following qualities of Vladimir Meciar were decisive while we were considering whom to entrust with that responsible post: energy, intellectual capacity, straightforward thinking, physical fitness, and enormous dedication to his work. Today I would be able to name also some negative traits of this man, especially a certain uncooperative attitude or aversion to team work and a tendency to demonize people with a different point of view.

[KULTURNY ZIVOT] Are you thinking about your possible successor and who it could be?

[Gal] I will not speak about a successor but Juraj Flamik is, in my opinion, a politician of the future. F. Miklosko is a man of consensus, and we will need people like him very badly in conflicting situations. J. Kucerak, the leader of economic reform in Slovakia, is a man who is wise and good at one and the same time.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 February on page 2 carries a 300-word "gc"-signed report on a news conference given by Fedor Gal in Bratislava on 21 February. The report includes the following passage, in which Gal indirectly criticizes Slovak Prime Minister Meciar's opposition to the restitution law: "Speaking about the present situation in the Federal Assembly, F. Gal noted that he considers it wrong when developments in society are demonized. Permanent struggle against a nonexistent enemy can hide one's own shortcomings but, in the final analysis, it diverts attention from necessary work and political activity. F. Gal described restitution as one of the first steps of economic reform."]

Kucerak Questions KDH's Coalition Allegiance

AU2402175391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 20 Feb 91 p 3

[Statement by Jozef Kucerak, Slovak deputy prime minister with responsibility for economic reform; place and date not given: "The Christian Democratic Movement—With Us or on Their Own?"]

[Excerpts] During the early days of the November 1989 revolution, the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement appeared before the public with an unequivocal program embracing the need to fundamentally transform the centrally planned economy, an economy with anonymous socialist ownership, into a democratic market economy based—first and foremost—on private ownership relations. We did not conceal the fact that this transformation would be difficult. We even emphasized that casualties are and will continue to be an unavoidable element of this process. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, the current unfavorable phenomena in manufacturing, employment, price fluctuations, and their affect on citizens' cost of living are causing some political forces and their representatives—after just a few weeks of economic reform—to cast doubts on the principles of reform itself or to attempt to make changes that would delay, complicate, or halt the transformation process toward a market economy.

If these opinions come from opposition forces, it is necessary to accept them as an understandable phenomenon. However, if such opinions manifest themselves among our coalition partners—specifically, in the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]—the issue is more serious and has to be dealt with more seriously.

The KDH has already announced several times that it will submit its own ideas on economic reform to the public. No official document has yet surfaced, and it would seem there is nothing to discuss. However, the number of statements, speeches, articles, and—lastly—individual points of view on economic reform expressed on Slovak Radio indicate that tendencies to digress from fundamental principles or from agreed essential reform steps—despite the fact that only corrections or amendments are mentioned in the discussion—are becoming apparent within the KDH.

I will leave aside, for the moment, the background to these efforts, and I will not pay any attention to whether this indicates a loss of faith or conviction in economic reform, a step-by-step maneuver with different aims, or a manifestation of simple popular politics. First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to matter-of-fact problems.

I always thought the KDH associated itself with private ownership in its philosophical starting points. Therefore, I expected the VPN would find it to be a reliable partner in the current endeavor to transform the state's status and function apropos the economy. This involves, in particular, a process of lessening the state's function as an economic owner and of lessening its direct paternalistic decision-making activities. On the contrary, this process involves strengthening indirect methods of influencing the economy.

However, there is a tendency among our partners to preserve these methods of implementing the state's power, methods that do not lead toward a market economy at all. It is especially emphasized that the state should act assiduously as an owner. [passage omitted]

If the KDH wants to strengthen the state's function as an owner, it is aiming toward increasing the state's noneconomic and nonmarket behavior. What is more, the KDH's preliminary proposals do not even conceal this. They suggest increasing the volume of investments with the aim of halting the recession at the cost of a shortfall in the state budget. However, this would be such an

adjustment to reform that reform itself would come apart and terrible inflation would set in.

A price moratorium would be an attractive solution to this threat. This also appears in the KDH proposals. The idea of legally regulating inflationary growth also appears. The only question is whether this is an attempt to establish a market or to rely on the "wise state." [passage omitted]

Faith in the state and in state ownership on the KDH's part is also apparent in the endeavor to establish—instead of thorough privatization—leasing relations between citizens involved in enterprise and current state enterprise structures. However, is there any point in retaining superfluous managerial structures in current enterprises that would only live off the entrepreneurial profit of others?

A serious digression from current coalition agreements is the KDH's attempt—publicly announced—to return property unjustly expropriated since 1945! This is more than a minor adjustment to economic reform. It is a grave threat. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, some food for thought. Even an impartial observer would take note of the fact that while KDH representatives talk about supporting reform, at the very same moment they cast doubts upon it. Their proposals are not just for adjustments. They do not merely involve distinctions in reform "technology"; a digression from fundamental reform philosophy can be recognized in them. They are tending toward populism by their public activities—persuading citizens that their current sacrifices are not a necessary element of reform, but are an undesirable phenomenon that has nothing to do with the KDH and for which the Christian Democrats are not jointly responsible. Is this not just a way of shifting responsibility onto their coalition partners, especially the VPN? However, the straight-talking VPN movement is used to this. It has become used to responsibility for the partial sacrifices that are always made on the road toward implementing its program.

However, I am afraid that in the background of the KDH's current attitudes toward economic reform is a loss in its conviction about the strength of the market economy and an increase in faith in the ability of a good and wise state with a touch of Christian socialism. I hope I am mistaken.

VPN 'Stabilizing Factor' in Political Scene

LD2102235291 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava Feb 21 (CTK)—"The Public Against Violence movement (VPN) is a stabilizing factor of the Czechoslovak political scene", VPN Chairman Fedor Gal said here today.

Considering the process of splitting currently under way in the Civic Forum as well as the situation in Bohemia and Moravia, the VPN (Slovak parallel to the Civic Forum founded in November 1989) bears more responsibility than previously supposed. This is due to its integrity, effectiveness and programme, Gal said.

He described the adoption of the law on extrajudicial rehabilitation (return of property to citizens who were deprived of it after the 1948 communist takeover) as the first step towards economic reform and to the creation of favourable conditions for investment.

Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak, present at the briefing, dismissed the alternative program of economic reform submitted by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) as putting in doubt the basic idea of economic reform by overestimating the state's role.

KDH doubts whether the economic reform is correct probably result from the analysis of its six week implementation. However, the decline in economic performance is inevitable at the outset and the VPN assumes responsibility for this decline just in order that the Czechoslovak economy recovers, Kucerak stressed.

Slovak Government Debates Property, Other Issues

AU2202132091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

["(NO)"-signed report: "A Draft Law on Communities' Property"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Government held a session in Bratislava yesterday. It adopted a point of view on the draft law on extrajudicial rehabilitation currently being debated by the CSFR Federal Assembly.

It approved a draft Slovak National Council law on communities' property. According to this law, all properties and facilities managed until now by local and municipal national committees, state enterprises, and legally designated budget-funded and subsidized organizations will be transferred from the ownership of the Slovak Republic to the ownership of communities and local authorities. Schools, some facilities of a social nature, and facilities and properties subject to small-scale privatization are to be exempted from this law. Special regulations govern the transfer of agricultural and forest land into the ownership of communities and local authorities. Cultural monuments should not be owned exclusively by the state.

The government did not agree with the draft law on stock exchanges in as much as the Federal Finance Ministry draft does not respect the fact that executive authority in this sector belongs to republican bodies.

It agreed with the CSFR Government draft decree on amending conditions for issuing authority to establish an enterprise with foreign capital participation. This represents a further step in liberalizing the conditions for foreign capital input in our economy while retaining the possibility of supervising their dealings with state property.

The government approved a draft plan for social security that lends substance to an individual's active responsibility for his way of life and provides sufficient scope for the implementation of specific ideas about the average size of old-age pensions, invalid benefits, benefits for the loss of a provider, and benefits for other complicated situations in life. The social security system should come into force under public law in 1993.

The CSFR Government statute on setting a minimum wage envisages that 2,000 korunas per month must be paid to the employee as of February, regardless of the results of the employee's work or of the employer's ability to pay.

The main purpose of the law on designating jurisdiction among the CSFR, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic in press and other mass information media matters is to make the establishment of independent republican television and radio organizations, the existence of federal radio and television organizations, and the establishment of private organizations of this kind possible.

The government discussed an evaluation of current measures to protect the environment around Ziar nad Hronom and a proposal for its improvement. A fundamental improvement to the environment is dependent on dealing with the main source of pollution—the SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Enterprise. The first installment of the measures is being implemented by modernizing aluminum production; however, a comprehensive solution requires further steps. The government will discuss them at a session to be held in Ziar nad Hronom. The Slovak Government discussed the results of an investigation into the fulfillment of the measures aimed at rectifying the ecological situation in the area around Ruzomberok and the Demanov Valley. It set the appropriate ministers the task of dealing with the financial guarantees for the most important ecological projects in Ruzomberok.

The government discussed a draft Federal Finance Ministry draft on increasing the population's fuel and heating costs and disagreed with it. It established a commission that—under the chairmanship of Prime Minister V. Meciar—will consider setting up a local self-administration and state administration system. It took note of a report on the possibilities for establishing shareholding companies from state enterprises during the transition period prior to the adoption of the large-scale privatization law. It recalled F. Liptak from his post as Slovak deputy culture minister at his own request (for health reasons and because he has reached retirement age) and appointed Engineer J. Stevova in his place.

Editorial Criticizes Gorbachev's Peace Plan

AU2202130291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Feb 91 p 5

[Gyorgy Fodor editorial: "Suspicion"]

[Text] No one can accuse Mikhail Gorbachev of not doing everything in his power to prevent the Gulf war. The whole world gave credit to the Soviet leadership and to perestroyka for joining the West and for sanctioning even the use of violence against the aggressor. At the same time, in accordance with its responsibilities as a superpower, the Soviet Union used its diplomacy to promote peace.

Suspicions are now growing that, in fact, the much welcomed Soviet stand was not heralding some kind of a "new age" after all.

Gorby-mania is cooling down even in Western public opinion. Moreover, Western leaders are starting to realize that the Soviet president cannot be judged merely from an artificial angle. To this day, Gorbachev has extensively used—or abused—the opportunities offered to him by the West.

The end of another "era" was heralded almost with a whisper: Following the most freezing years of the cold war, a tacit agreement on the need for a modus vivendi was born between the West and the Soviet leaders of the time. Saving the world from the "worst possible scenario," the Soviet leadership could give itself some leeway on the international scene—naturally, a few Western leaders were also given room to maneuver. The history of the last 40 years—including Hungary's history—based itself on this pact and on the power relations of that time.

From one day to the next, it is now becoming increasingly clear that this pact cannot be maintained. If this world really is a world where aggressors cannot be tolerated and where democracies already have "measurable" criteria, then no country or superpower has the right to ask for preferential treatment. Gorbachev's, Saddam Husayn's, and George Bush's actions are measured on the same scale: by the world and by us.

It was precisely the Gulf war that stirred up some questions concerning the credibility of Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts and policies. Gorbachev's latest peace plan demonstrated that cold calculations still dictate the steps taken by Moscow. The essence of the Soviet leadership's policy is to make use of the international situation to "restore order" at home—and, if necessary, to make some concessions at home to cover up for international failures.

Within 24 hours, Mikhail Gorbachev came up with a peace plan that did not stand the slightest chance of succeeding. Moscow explained that this very secret peace plan was needed because the Soviet Union was worried about the battles raging close to its borders. Let us think about this for a moment: Some 500,000 U.S. soldiers have joined forces with tens of thousands of allied soldiers—including Arab soldiers—to force through the implementation of a United Nations resolution also backed by Moscow. Following several weeks of devastating air raids, everything is now ready for ground combat.

At this point, Mikhail Gorbachev—who does not have a single soldier in the region—decides to draw up a peace plan behind the backs of his allies. Admittedly, he does disclose his ideas to a few selected leaders.

Let us assume that Washington, London, and Paris examine the plan in good faith. They think to themselves: No question about it, peace comes first. Some 500,000 soldiers depart from the region, and the Arab allies go home as well. Indeed, it does not matter; we will settle up with the victims and rebuild Iraq. History will have two heroes: Mikhail Gorbachev and Saddam Husayn.

It is difficult to imagine how the Soviet leader came up with this idea. He promised territorial integrity to Iraq—no one wanted to take territory away from Iraq. He promised that Middle East negotiations would be held—this had in fact already been promised by Washington. He offered Saddam Husayn impunity—he almost guaranteed it—but this was something he could not and cannot do.

It seems incredible: According to Gorbachev's plan, the war would be over from one minute to the next, and Moscow would have put the whole world in its pocket, just like that.

This solution, however, is not the right solution to the conflict that the allies have undertaken to resolve. Gorbachev's plan simply does not apply to the Gulf. If we were talking about the father of perestroyka, we would have to say that the Soviet president is increasingly losing control at home; however, we cannot be sure that the head of the Soviet state still thinks along the lines of perestroyka and reform nowadays.

Moscow needed economic assistance, foodstuffs, and money—so it stood on the side of the West in the Gulf affair. If air raids lay waste to the region, then that is a good opportunity to settle affairs with a few republics that have lost control of themselves. If real war is approaching, then that is an excellent opportunity to achieve spectacular international success. It can be proven that the Soviet leadership has an excellent feeling for tactics, that it can still maneuver among its old enemies, and that it can try to break Paris (for example) away from the coalition.

Nowadays, we hear voices from Moscow that we would rather forget about. Decrees are being issued that make a mockery out of perestroyka. The events that are taking place bring shame upon the Kremlin (once again.) The West is starting to put Gorbachev down, albeit in a polite fashion. Boris Yeltsin, on the other hand, is openly rude:

He has demanded Gorbachev's resignation. The conservatives gave Yeltsin such a mouthful that, not so long ago, he would have ended up in a gulag. Yet in a democracy, it is hardly a punishable crime to raise the question: Dear Mikhail Gorbachev, perhaps your days are over, too?

Spokesman Views Soviet Troop Withdrawal Progress

LD2202144191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Gabor Bankuti report on the extended spokesman's briefing following yesterday's government session; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Bankuti] Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti said that yesterday the Soviet-Hungarian negotiations between experts on the financial questions of the Soviet withdrawal, carried out with Admiral Grishin, Soviet deputy minister for foreign economic relations, had been completed. The troop withdrawals are progressing according to schedule: 72 percent of the soldiers and two-thirds of the military technology have already been pulled out.

The Soviet experts urged immediate payment for the real estate handed over so far and did not recognize Hungarian demands for compensation for damages. The Hungarian party, according to the original intergovernmental agreement, insists on the estimation of environmental damages and a single final settlement. We are trying to make sure this takes place by the end of the withdrawal.

Progress was made on establishing a Hungarian-Soviet joint committee which, involving local governments, will try to sell the one-time Soviet establishments that cannot be utilized by the state. We learned from Balazs Laszlo, government spokesman, that the experts will start talks already tomorrow in Budapest, in preparation for the ministerial conference dealing with the dissolution of the military organization of the Warsaw Pact, scheduled to begin on Monday. [passage omitted]

Romania's Roman Writes Antall on Cooperation

LD2302110891 Budapest MTI in English 2033 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, February 22 (MTI)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, in his letter addressed to Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on February 11 expressed interest on behalf of Romania to participate in the tripartite co-operation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland and the intention of his country to start this co-operation at the Visegrad summit of February 15.

In his reply of February 15, Jozsef Antall informed his Romanian counterpart that the participants of the Visegrad summit "did not consider it timely to expand the circle by either Romania or any other country wishing to join the tripartite co-operation, but they accepted the idea of partial co-operation with these countries in the fields of defining and solving actual problems."

The Romanian news agency ROMPRES publicized both letters, announcing that in this way "the public can see Romania's unbiased intention for co-operation," that "Romania views the issue of ties with neighbouring countries from a pragmatic aspect, openly expressing its interest in a long-term co-operation within the framework of security and understanding."

At the beginning of his letter, Petre Roman stated: "In Romanian-Hungarian ties we have to get over our emotions and the heritage weighing down heavily on both countries," but "this heritage weighs down in a different way on each of the two countries," he added.

According to Petre Roman, the classification of one-time socialist countries as Central and Eastern European countries is arbitrary as the ties established between these countries and the fact that for a long time they belonged to the same regime has created a mutual interdependence, especially in the economic sphere.

On the other hand, the goals of these countries are identical, e.g. an integration into the European structure, and these goals can be attained more easily in co-operation.

In consequence, Roman wrote, "I would like to express our interest to participate in the tripartite consultations, which aim at achieving similar goals."

Roman considered it natural to turn to the Hungarian prime minister first. In case of a favourable answer he would address the Polish and the Czechoslovak sides as well, he stated. He thought that a "quadrilateral" co-operation would have a favourable effect on all of the countries as well as on Central-East European stability.

In his reply, Jozsef Antall agreed with Roman in that both countries should get over the negative heritage and they should eliminate harmful consequences of the communist regime.

Antall stated that he informed his negotiating partners at the tripartite meeting on the contents of Roman's letter, reading out the part on the quadrilateral co-operation aloud.

Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel agreed that Antall should be the one to answer Roman's letter.

The participants of the Visegrad summit agreed that their intentions for co-operation were determined by their earlier applications for admission to the Council of Europe and their talks with the European communities.

The Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Polish sides agreed unanimously, Antall's letter runs, that they did not consider it timely to expand the circle either by Romania or by any other country.

The letter stressed that Hungary considered security problems as issues to be discussed at bilateral talks, thus proving that the three countries did not want to create a closed regional organization and their co-operation was not directed against any other country. Hungary has made such an agreement of military character first with Romania, then with Czechoslovakia.

The full text of the two letters were carried by the Romanian daily "ADEVARUL" on Friday. [22 February].

Jeszenszky Views Talks With Romania's Nastase

LD2402144191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Jozsef P. Szabo on talks with Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase in Madrid; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Szabo] If I have it right, there was in past Hungarian foreign policy a view according to which there was a need for high-level Hungarian-Romanian meetings only if something concrete, some progress could be expected from such a meeting. Does your meeting with the Romanian foreign minister in Madrid this week—and you will meet him again in the near future—represent a change in Hungarian foreign policy, or is it perhaps a reaction to signals from Bucharest, or something else?

[Jeszenszky] No, what is at issue here is that the stance of Hungarian foreign policy is unchanged, in that there is a great need for official negotiations either in Bucharest or Budapest, for high-level negotiations, but they should have some kind of result. This does not rule out short exchanges of views that should take place on all occasions either at the level of experts or even at foreign ministerial level. [passage omitted]

Personal meetings are always useful and the [Madrid] meeting was such. It only lasted a half an hour; therefore, it was only suitable for us to signal—beyond politeness—the kind of questions on which we should have an exchange either between ourselves or at a higher or lower level, and on which progress should be made. [passage omitted]

I am very glad that Romania took the position it did regarding the Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Polish meeting, officially shall we say, because at the time of the meeting there were rather strong criticisms voiced too, to the effect that a kind of anti-Romanian bloc, anti-Romanian conspiracy—God forbid—is in preparation. So in Madrid [CSFR] Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier greeted his Romanian colleague, half in jest, precisely with the remark: I hear that Romania is taking exception to this conspiracy that we are plotting against it. Of course, Nastase said that there was no question of that, this is not what they think. In other words, it is very good if Romania greets this [trilateral cooperation accord]. Should Romania want to join this trilateral cooperation, well, it was not us who have given the answer—we Hungarians in Budapest or in Visegrad—but the Polish and Czechoslovak presidents, who precisely emphasized the fact that this is a very loose cooperation in any case. The problems are very similar in the three countries, whereas in Romania the problems are different in character; therefore, in this sense, they did not see Romanian participation in this trilateral cooperation as justified.

Defense Ministry Denies Radiation Allegations

LD2202135591 Budapest MTI in English 1144 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—The national Belgrade dailies BORBA and POLITIKA, and Yugoslav radio and television, have carried reports, claiming that the Kalashnikov-type machine guns delivered from Hungary to Croatia, Yugoslavia, are contaminated with radiation. According to the reports, the Soviet-made weapons were previously stored in the vicinity of Chernobyl. The Hungarian chief of staff allegedly called the attention of his colleague in Belgrade to this fact in a diplomatic letter.

Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence, said in an interview with today's Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG that Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff, wrote no such letter to his Yugoslav colleague (or to anyone else in Yugoslavia) in connection with the sale of arms.

In the interview, the spokesman itemised one by one the exchanges of messages between the Hungarian and Yugoslav chiefs of staff in the period relevant to the arms sale.

Colonel Keleti said he was puzzled why the case was being reopened, and the Hungarian chief of staff implicated so groundlessly. He said it was desirable that the Yugoslav chief of staff should personally reject the false charges and clarify the affair.

According to information from reliable sources, NEPSZABADSAG asserts that the case in hand is a "radioactive hoax," a deliberate misinformation tactic with a political aim. The 10,000 weapons in question were never stored in the vicinity of Chernobyl. The daily was informed that Hungarian warehouses storing the weapons were checked, and no increased radiation was registered.

Loans for National Exports to USSR Disapproved

LD2302093591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] The government's economic cabinet does not agree that the country should finance Hungarian exports to the Soviet Union with loans. The body therefore calls companies' attention to the fact that they can only sign contracts at their own risk. Due to economic difficulties, the Soviet side does not fulfill state and intercompany agreements. The Soviet side has not opened credit for

Hungarian exports, either. The responsible ministries are preparing suggestions on how the ever more serious problems of bilateral trade can be solved by assisting economic diplomacy.

Antall, Kupa Interviewed on Economic Program

LD2502031391 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by unidentified chief editor of "This Week"; place and date not given; from the "This Week" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The finance minister's economic program appeared this week. Mihaly Kupa set two much-needed aims: stability and convertibility. The promising economic program, which sets the target for the Hungarian economy to be stabilized within two years, will be submitted for debate at a later date. The chief editor of "The Week" spoke about this with Jozsef Antall and Mihaly Kupa.

[Chief Editor] As the domestic press received your program this week, there must be some guessing whether this date of 1993-1994 is true, whether everything will change by then. Please convince me that it is really true.

[Antall] The date of 1993-94 is true with an optimistic approach; this means that we can reorganize our economy this year and next year with foreign help and by encouraging internal entrepreneurs, by mobilizing Hungarian human resources because we have more intellectual wealth than financial capital. By 1993-1994 steady growth can begin. This present action plan, prepared under the supervision of Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa, is a real implementing program, a practical execution of the program that has been drawn up on the basis of the election program of the government coalition. This is a long column that almost fills the whole publication, and tells us what must be done in a time schedule to build the market, to improve the ownership structure. There are a lot of important laws waiting on the desk of the National Assembly...[words indistinct], these must be settled this year so we can allow the economy to work.

[Chief Editor] Excuse me, but for this to succeed, the debate on compensation must not last several weeks.

[Antall] Compensation must be just—at least partly—and at the same time stabilize the ownership structure so people can invest with a trusful mind. It is no wonder that this cannot happen overnight, as it is the hardest point of impact in the whole system transformation. This is an issue of important individual interests. Previous owners and people without property cannot be forced to stand together with a kind of godly peace, as the fate and future of families depend on the implementing of this. It is logical that there are differences, and it is also logical and natural that there are differences between the coalition partners as well. The differences between the coalition partners are a lot smaller than those between the opposition parties, where two parties that call themselves liberal have totally different standpoints. Here I mean the standpoint of SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] and FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], as well as the Hungarian Socialist Party, regarding the issue of compensation.

[Chief Editor] Do Hunagrians economic experts agree on whether it would be good for us to take up more loans to keep our ability to operate?

[Antall] The main problem of the Hungarian economy is not the loans and debts. Of course, it would be better if there was no [debt], but even together with the loans and debts, if a country's economy is booming, it is not a tragedy. What shocks and surprises me is that well-meaning and very decent Hungarian politicians and public figures say such things as: Why are we paying back the debt that the communists took up? In fact some people are referring to Lenin's example following the pattern of the great Soviet Union, where this debt (?service) has been stopped. If we had done this, Hungary would be in economic crisis today.

[Kupa] My view is that we cannot enter Europe with Bolshevik tactics. The other thing is that we needed a loan especially this year, as the Hungarian population's standard of living cannot be burdened any further.

[Chief Editor] If I happened to believe that Hungary is the most pessimistic country in the world, then I would have to ask whether there is an internal force that makes whatever we have or what the West sends us able to operate, regardless of the loans.

[Antall] I do not know why you believed that....

[Chief Editor, interrupting] I was speaking in conditional mood.

[Antall] It is your right to believe that. No one thinks that Hungary will fall, but the majority of the people are thinking hard about how they could improve their situation and how they could get out of this. This governemnt program is based especially on this, and it wants to mobilize this force in society, knowing that there are poor people who need help and there will be unemployed people. Inflation is high, but we can get out of this. I can remember many peasants from my childhood, who always said when the harvest was really good: But the poppy did not bring profit. Hungarians always choose the worst thing they can think of. This does not meant that we are living through a happy period; as Mr. Minister said, we are living through a hard period, but there is a way out.

[Chief Editor] I believe everybody in Hungarian public opinion agrees that the old military organization of the Warsaw Pact must be wound up, but if certain political relations remain and an appearance of a coalition level emerges, is that not too dangerous for small countries such as Hungary, as the prospects of the Soviet Union, for example, do not appear to be decided?

[Antall] Not only does it make it doubtful, but we can say it makes it more important for Hungary and the other countries of the area to demolish the military structure, and that the military organization of the Warsaw Pact should cease. The military organization of the Warsaw Pact will cease with the signing tomorrow, and it will cease on 1 April. If the pullout of Soviet troops from Hungary happens according to schedule, then Hungary will be in a historic situation. This could happen amid the cheering of the country's population, if it were not connected with an economic-social tension, because since 19 March 1944 it will be the first time that Hungary is not part of a military organization, and the country will not be under the occupation of foreign troops, or there will be no foreign troops staying on Hungarian territory.

Our interest is, in any case, that there should be stability in the Soviet Union, but stability should emerge through a democratic transformation, and there should be no such economic and social problems that might, for example, set off a flood of refugees to Europe, primarily to us. Our interest is not that the forces of reaction should become dominant in the Soviet Union, and these forces should, with or without success, activate sympathizers—probably even in Hungary—who have not necessarily given up their dreams, even if their dreams appear in a radical or even some kind of [word indistinct] oppositional position today in Hungary. Sometimes one can see such alliances and such mutual enthusiasm toward each other, that one would be shocked if he were not experienced and did not know the sciences from psychology to zoology.

[Kupa, laughing] I am not so experienced. Some very dry economic points should be added. One is that our energy dependence is exceptionally high. Everyone knows this; this is one reason why it is in our interest that there should be stability in the Soviet Union, and that Soviet-Hungarian economic relations should be settled to the possible limit. Second, we do our best in diplomacy, in trickiness, craftiness, whatever one can imagine. We cannot, however, afford to have positive balance in such a bad situation—that is, to put money in Soviet-Hungarian relations. Relations cannot be killed, frozen, but they have to be worked on, always considering Hungarian interests.

[Chief Editor] I am frankly surprised by your [plural] certainty as to planning. If only because in recent days this government has been called on virtually every day to leave or to draw this or that personal conclusion. How do you react to this?

[Antall] Calmly. I have been working on this and I continue to do so, because I think this country must get out of this situation. I have discussed this with several people here at home and I have talked through the possibilities with an extremely large number of foreign partners. Hence the certainty of planning.

On the other hand, I believe that one must always set some kind of explicit action target where there are inner uncertainties. The best thing to do if someone is afraid in the forest is for him to sing. As a result, I believe that what we do not need now is for one of the opposition parties to declare that it wishes to come to power and that it thinks that this government should go. We must not take fright at this. On the other hand, I have thought even until now that the opposition parties had a government program and an appropriate crisis-handling program, because opposition parties must always be prepared. I think they must always have credible personalities, a credible—and only a credible—team.

I believe it very wrong, if, with their remarks, they involve the president of the Republic, who is a representative of the nation standing above parties, in these party politics. I am convinced that the government must thoroughly study the mistakes it committed in every past period through lack of experience or as a consequence of circumstances; it must correct those. But I think that what the government can and does do, going far beyond the sphere of promises and prophecies, means that we are capable of leading this country even under such unfavorable conditions.

FIDESZ Representative on Role in Opposition

AU2202131791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Feb 91 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Orban, parliamentary faction leader of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), by Farkas; place and date not given: "The FIDESZ Does Not Want To Replace the Independent Smallholders' Party"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Viktor Orban told our correspondent that the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] did not want to replace the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] in the government coalition.

[Farkas] Recently, there have been an increasing number of reports and analyses stating that it would be advantageous if the FIDESZ were to replace the FKgP in the government coalition. During the parliamentary debate on the compensation bill, the FKgP repeatedly "accused" the FIDESZ of coveting their position. Are you contemplating an entry into the coalition? Are you considering a swap with the FKgP?

[Orban] There are two reasons we do not contemplate such a move, the first one being that we only have 22 parliamentary representatives. Under such parliamentary power relations, we should not join the government because we would not really be able to modify or improve its functioning. We have repeatedly stated this in the past. Furthermore, we do not think that such a move would be timely. At the moment, in the light of the general assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], many people are weighing up the chances of a change of government. Personally, I think any serious

politician realizes that at the moment, neither the constitutional law nor the political situation calls for such a change. As far as the constitutional law is concerned, under the current parliamentary power relations and under the present constitutional regulation—partly marked out by the pact between the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the SZDSZ, as we see it—the coalition cannot be changed. In other words, the SZDSZ has been caught in its own web, and the coalition parties have not shown any definite intention of breaking up their ranks. Both Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and the leaders of the FKgP have stated this quite clearly. I do not think that we have to prepare for a change of government under the present political circumstances.

[Farkas] Another statement that is often made about the FIDESZ is that the party is already thinking about the next elections. Indeed, the FIDESZ has often declared that it is making long-term plans.

[Orban] First, we find it very abnormal that communication is virtually nonexistent between political parties—particularly between the coalition and some of the opposition parties. We tried to overcome this problem by sitting down for negotiations with the MDF and the Christian Democratic People's Party. However, the fact that we initiated relations does not mean that we are trying to foresee the results of the next elections and accordingly establish a framework for possible cooperation.

[Farkas] The publication MAGYAR NARANCS [HUNGARIAN ORANGE], closely associated with the FIDESZ, recently published an article saying that a certain amount of tension had emerged between leading FIDESZ politicians, or between different wings of the party. This tension allegedly emerged as a result of the "government participation or not" debate.

[Orban] I have to tell you quite honestly: I think the article reflected a certain impression, but I did not find a single sentence that based this impression on facts.

Solidarity Trade Union Holds Third Congress

Walesa Addresses Congress

LD2302163691 Warsaw PAP in English 1124 GMT 23 Feb 91

["Full text" of address by President Lech Walesa to the third congress of the Solidarity trade union in Gdansk on 23 February]

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 23—In a speech inaugurating the third congress of the Solidarity trade union in Gdansk today, Poland's President Lech Walesa, the union's former longtime leader, said:

I am truly moved in addressing you. Although I have stopped work for the union, I continue to feel a trade unionist. I became the president of the Republic of Poland as one of you and I am proud of this heritage.

I moved into the Belvedere (presidential seat) because here I can do more and more effectively for our Polish reforms. Today I have to think and act as the president of the Polish state. This means a different, wider perspective and new possibilities of bearing influence. But this is also a wider scale of problems and without doubt the most tough decisions. One cannot shy away from responsibility and wait for someone else to take it upon himself.

We have with honour concluded the stage of struggle for possibilities to develop correctly. Now we have this possibility. Time will show whether we are capable of filling these possibilities with programs and everyday, more effective work.

We are building Poland, a country with a normal economy; a country of prosperity and law; a country of pluralistic political life; a state secure against internal and external threats. We must build in extremely difficult conditions, in conditions of economic crisis, low spirits, and bitterness of society and a complicated international situation.

We have taken our matters into our own hands. No one will build this new Poland for us. I know I alone cannot do much. Without your help nothing can be achieved. Solidarity continues to be a great reformative movement. You see the need for its existence and further operations everyday around you.

Our union has from the start represented employees and their interests. But it also from the very start took upon itself responsibility for the fate of the whole country. There is a need for things to continue like this—if Solidarity wants to fulfil its historic mission to the end.

The union cannot replace and will not replace political parties. It is in Poland's interest that strong parties with clear programs be established. But Solidarity has a right to speak about all significant problems of this country. It has a right and duty to take part in solving these problems.

Reforms in Poland are still too slow. You must help complete these reforms. This will not be easy but one should remember that service to society requires consistence and persistence. It is necessary to fulfill everything which we have been obliged to by people. I believe we will together achieve next successes.

Ten years will have elapsed in autumn since the 1st Solidarity congress held in the same "Olivia" hall here. During these years the idea of Solidarity won. It made Poland a democratic and sovereign country of free people. It gave a stimulus to similar changes in Central and Eastern Europe. It enriched political and social thought on the international scale.

Let us look back not to be self-complacent. The to date achievements should give us strength. We have achieved much but we can achieve more. Solidarity has been and will remain for a long time the main motive power of Polish changes.

I wish you successful debates and right decisions. I believe the Solidarity congress will open up a new period of the union's successes. I want these successes to serve the entire nation and provide bigger political effects.

Prime Minister Attends

LD2402132591 Warsaw PAP in English 1135 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 24—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and several of his cabinet members are attending the Solidarity congress on its second day in Gdansk today.

Lech Kaczynski, who led the Solidarity delegation to talks with the government earlier this week, presented a report on his negotiations with the government.

During the negotiations solidarity failed to persuade the government to abolish the controversial excessive wage tax, the cause of several protest actions by workers last week.

Bielecki on Economic Reform

LD2402185191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Speech by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to the third congress of the Solidarity trade union in Gdansk on 24 February—recorded]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen delegates! The Polish road to civilization and prosperity, the Polish road to Europe must make use of Polish experiences, and Polish today no longer means communist. On the contrary, Polish means "of Solidarity," the resources of Solidarity; essential for bringing down the old system, it must also serve to build the new one.

These words come from my expose. Working in the post of prime minister for the past month and a half I have

become convinced of their truth, especially since the danger of a relapse cannot be ruled out. Neither can one rule out a return to a Marxist utopia. Even though the slogans of "market economy" and "democracy" can be found in almost every program of every Polish party or political grouping, very often the sense of these concepts is distorted. The market economy is an economy based on private property. In conditions where there is an enormous domination of state property this concept loses its meaning.

In recent days the wave of workers' protests in our country has been increasing. It is symbolized by a cry for the abolition of taxes on the above-plan growth of wages, the so-called popiwek. In other words, this is a camouflaged demand for wage increases, a demand being voiced despite economic logic and beyond the capabilities of the economy. Individual wage demands try to outbid each other. There are protests from workers in enterprises that are in a good state, and from those in enterprises that are on the brink of bankruptcy. The workers from state farms are protesting as are workers from the budget sphere [as heard]. There are protests from the people producing tractors and from the people who use them. There are protests from those who cannot produce and also from those who cannot sell what they have produced.

Unemployment gives rise to opposition. Recession is causing discontent. Everybody wants money. Everyone says they are against inflation. Tractors and combines are driven along the highways by protesting farmers, and the men in charge of road maintenance are protesting that they do not have the money to keep the roads in good repair, and because of this they want to blockade them. Should this happen, how will the combines with the striking farmers get through? Perhaps state transport, which is also on strike, will bus in strikers as part of the strike action. Or perhaps the striking train engineers will help? How does one come to grips with the chaos of conflicting claims? How does one give back to Poland and to its reform the principles of solidarity?

This is not a uniquely Polish problem. It also concerns other countries freeing themselves from Communism. An especially drastic example is that of the former GDR. That country was, until not long ago, a calling card for the system. At the present time it is in the throes of a total economic breakdown. The Federal Republic has, just lately, set aside 35 billion marks in aid for the former GDR. This is not going to be enough. The need for 100 billion has been mentioned. Despite such great outlays the recession last year amounted to more than 50 percent, and it continues to rise. Unemployment, including people who are employed part-time, has reached 27 percent. This year it is expected that another million people are going to be put out of work. The budgets of towns are being declared bankrupt, and problems with reprivatization have blocked privatization. More and more often the view is being voiced among German people that the chasm between the East and the West of their country is so vast that, apart from certain exceptions, everything must be started again from the very beginning. It is worth recalling, while on the subject—and I direct these words to the train engineers who want to strike—that if they recently drove to work through the former GDR where there was, apparently, a lack of experts, now after the unification, employment on East German railways has been reduced by 60,000.

This is a price which we, too, are paying for the absurdity of Communist economic policy. That is why, while at the world economic forum in Davos, I said Communism destroyed the Polish economy more effectively than war itself. Part of the post-Polish United Workers Party press held it against me that I depreciated the effort of a generation that rebuilt Poland from the smoldering ruins of war. This is not the point. The effort of that generation, in the name of ideological daydreams, was directed—among other things—toward the building of an inefficient heavy industry that will continue to be a burden on our economy for some time to come. It was to give us a better state of preparedness for our struggle with imperialism.

It is a very bad thing. It is perhaps the greatest mistake of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's government that society was not told about this openly, that a white paper was not prepared that would have, without emotion, showed the true state of our country on the day that the first noncommunist government took power, the day Solidarity took power.

I believe Poland is not singlehandedly capable of getting out of the crisis. Intensive foreign help and cooperation is needed. One way out is a swift economic integration with European communities. A drastic reduction of our debt is essential in order to, first, relieve the Polish economy, and second, to create conditions for winning new financial means. Of course some may say that we can simply not pay our debts, but the problem would then be that it would close our path to winning new funds and investments from the West. Without them we have no chance of success.

During a month and a half my government and the president have done much to gain the understanding of our foreign partners and creditors for the complexity of these problems. I believe we have managed to convince the West of our competence and our determination to make good use of the chance which is taking shape. We expect before the end of the first six months of this year to sign an affiliation agreement with the EC. The reduction of our debts will probably be possible as early as April. New opportunities have appeared to receive a credit from the World Bank and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development. Billions of dollars are involved, and they should reach Poland before the end of the year.

On the initiative of the government and after the ratification of the Sejm, from April onward a new, liberal law will be in force that will make foreign investments in the

Polish economy possible, on a scale much greater than had been possible until now. These are absolutely essential prerequisites that lead the way to a successful prospect for reform. Some might say: What do I care about affiliation with Europe; what benefit do I get from it if I live worse and worse? Every man, of course, has the right to think exclusively of his own, temporary, immediate interest. The government, however, is under obligation to think of everybody's interest, and to act according to the long-term good of the state.

Esteemed ladies and gentlenmen! We are finishing work on a three-year economic program based on three basic principles: the necessity of retaining budget equilibrium, of introducing a stable financial policy concerning prices, and a policy that will serve to curb inflation. These are universal assumptions that are not dictated by an existing state of affairs. A feeling of responsibility makes it impossible to use them as an object for negotiation.

In these circumstances swift parliamentary elections are needed so democratic representation of society might make a political choice concerning the possibilities of sharing out the meager means available to the budget. In discussions on this subject the voice of Solidarity must not be missing.

However, it must be said out loud: There will be no miracles. Our government does not cheat. This policy has no other alternative except the breaking down of the process of reforms. I speak of this so openly since I am not guided by political opportunism. However, I do understand the frustration and fear of society before the unknown, and the desire of people that the state should guarantee them a minimum of security. We are needed for this, and aware of it, especially when it comes to the poorest and most helpless. Unfortunately it is obvious that the whole of the Polish misfortune cannot—at a stroke—be eliminated.

It is symptomatic that the abolition of the popiwek is demanded by both the Communists and the extreme liberals. The shortsightedness of the former is just demogogy serving the play for power; the plan of the latter envisages the withdrawal of the state from the process of change and the automatic acceleration of the collapse of enterprises, which will cause a huge increase in unemployment, thus setting in motion a mechanism which will in effect bring about the self-destruction of the centrally planned economy, together with a maximally developed spiral of inflation.

I, too, could say today: Right, we will increase the threshold used in calculating the popiwek by 50 percent, for example. I will, however, not do this, for I know that I would in this way set in motion the mechanism of a time bomb which would explode—perhaps in a month, or perhaps only after the elections. The popiwek is a prop [proteza] taking the place of a real labor market. In conditions where state property dominates, such a dam that creates a check on the outflow of hot money to the market is certainly indispensible. We can, of course, discuss the shape of such a tool. We can call it an anti-inflationary regulator of wages, but we may not get rid of it or change it in such a way that it will lead to the return of a wave of high inflation and to yet another destructive race of wages and prices.

The government wishes to raise the threshold of the lowest norm used to calculate the popiwek to improve the living standards of the poorest. Such is the logic of activities during a crisis.

We are also looking at a solution that will make it possible for enterprises to set aside part of their post-tax profits into special accounts for workers. The money in these accounts would go toward buying shares of privatized enterprises and toward other forms of worker participation in the process of privatization. This is all the room we have for maneuvering.

I am very well aware that we will not be able to continue reforms without social approval and without reaching a consensus regarding the general principles. For the government one of the basic ways of reaching such an agreement lies in negotiations with trade federations. A competent and politically responsible parliament is also necessary for this, one in which money from a tight budget is not being wrenched by various lobbies, but one in which political decisions regarding the paths for the reform are being made, as well as moves relating to the redistribution of means.

The government, together with Solidarity, has called on the Sejm to quickly establish a law on trade unions and collective conflicts. These legal regulations should make it easier to tidy up the negotiating scene.

I am certain that the achievement of a growth in national income depends, to a great degree, on the speed of privatization. What is the reform of private property to be like? In five years our economy should begin to resemble the property structure typical of West Europe. This reform should be understandable to society. The participation of people in the process of ownership changes holds a fundamental meaning for us. That is why the present minister is creating contacts, breaking the ice, and overcoming prejudices. Especially in relation to the biggest and the most difficult enterprises, the giants of the Polish economy, the strategy of ownership changes must be negotiated and agreed upon and not imposed. The reform of ownership is to make ownership universal, create the chance of ownership for everybody. Workers will get this in two different ways: through the privilege of getting a 20 percent entitlement and the possibility of making use, through rental or leasing, of the wealth of enterprises in which they worked.

However, to include everybody in this chance for wealth—not forgetting pensioners, annuitants, doctors, and teachers—we will endeavor to make use of asset bonds [bony majatkowe]. We are checking this at the moment and will try to introduce it in the second half of the year.

Third, in privatizing we must not forget the state of the Polish economy. It is our duty to revitalize it, and this will only be possible when—together with making ownership more universal—we also create chances for enterprising people. They, faster than anyone else, will profitably administer property that belongs to no particular owner, bringing benefits to us and to the whole of society.

Property with a recognizable face, active property; that is the best guarantee of efficiency and good management. That is why the stress is being laid on small-scale privatization, and the chance of privatizing in 1991 several hundred enterprises—according to the so-called liquidation path [sciezka likwidacyjna]—can be taken advantage of, not only by work forces, but also by individual purchasing businessmen.

Of course our government, treating ownership as a principle of the democratic system, does not close its eyes to many negative phenomena that manifest themselves within the private sector today. These include both corruption and the problem of tax fraud. The scale of smuggling is growing. The growth of this pathology has been aided by the inefficiency of the customs services and institutions appointed to control adherence to clean rules of the game within the economy. At the moment, we are restoring the efficiency of these institutions, so as to bring back the necessity of adhering to the law.

A side effect of privatization is the elimination by the government of the role of the great employer. This in turn will create conditions for reaching an agreement, whose signatories today ought to be the government and unions of employers and employees. Today, these issues are extremely muddled. In many enterprises whose work forces raise pay demands, we observe directors no longer fulfilling their roles and becoming, as was the case during the glassworkers' strike, advisers to the strikers. And how is it in the case of state farm strikes? Some directors have turned out to be practically leaders of the protests. This displacement of roles transfers conflicts from the area of the enterprise and individual branches to the forum of conflict with the government. This is an abnormal situation. The government cannot be a party to all conflicts. Today's situation proves that where no one feels he is the real owner, the aim of economic activity becomes not profit but pay divorced from economic efficiency. Nonstate enterprises have been excluded from the operation of the popiwek, since the real owner keeps a watchful eye on the proper proportions between pay and profit. Let us also remember, however, that not only the state sector, but also the private sector is experiencing difficulties. Recently, many thousands of private firms went bankrupt quietly, without public outcry. This is a natural process, a proper one for the functioning of the market.

Dear ladies and gentlemen, one of the most important directions of our policy is to restrict central authority. We want to quickly initiate the process of real decentralization and regionalization, so that the greatest possible number of tasks and powers should reach the organizational level of parishes.

Of course, together with money that will make possible their realization. Today, the state is concerned with nearly everything from the financial point of view. In a country that is so poor, this must lead to the fact that no one out of those who draw on the resources of the state is satisfied in his demands. Help is often directed to everyone, the poor and the rich, and not addressed soley to those who really require it. Pathology in the matter of free prescriptions means that 90 percent of medicines, worth many billions of zlotys, are not sold but given out. Who creates budget inflows? The taxpayer, of course, who is all of us and every enterprise. The state budget in its essence does not differ, after all, from the budget of every Polish family. Incomes must balance expenditures. There are three ways of increasing the income of the state budget: by printing money without coverage, by increasing taxes, or else by financing the deficit from credits that ought to be allocated to economic development. The above methods turn out to be very expensive in their consequences for the taxpayer, that is, for all of us. The consistent limitation of the increase of remuneration with the simultaneous freeing of prices is the road consciously chosen by us for the struggle with the hyperinflation to which the Polish economy shows a great propensity. It is clear that theoretically we could try other solutions. On the pattern of that which has for instance recently happened in the Soviet Union, to deprive the populace of part of their monetary resources by withdrawing certain banknotes. We are, however, not allowed to do this because of elementary honesty.

In the economy, all phenomena are associated with each other. Let us take the example of interest rates on credits. The postulate is heard on many sides that credit should be cheaper. However, it is clear that the level of interest payments is directly dependent on the level of inflation. If, contrary to logic, credits have lower interest charges than the going rate of inflation, we will have to simultaneously reduce interest payments on the savings deposited in banks. This would mean cheating millions of people. It is a paradox that, with such an enormous scale of various reliefs and sector privileges, the scale of demands is so great. The basic question, a dramatic question because it is set in dramatic circumstances, is: Will we find enough strength and will to enter onto the road to civilizational prosperity, while continuing reform, or the mechanism of the old system turn out to be stronger? The maintenance of social peace and the acceptance by society of the role of an ally of the government is here a key matter. Everyone will not succeed in escaping from this country, and the principle of save yourselves those who can is a national absurdity. Before we start to achieve real successes, and I am convinced that the first results should already be manifesting themselves in the second half of this year, we must create an appropriate atmosphere of cooperation.

The perspective for today is marked out by a feeling of mutual good whose new definition has been created by Solidarity, defeating Communism. Now is the time to once again draw on this. It could be that it is necessary to create a broad movement for the support of reforms, with the participation of political forces, trade unions, social organizations, and the state apparatus.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I am convinced we will not argue over the aims of the reform in this forum. The discussion concerns ways of implementing it and a sense on your part, and more widely, the whole of society, that this government is credible and competent. Today's notorious battle over the popiwek is really a substitute conflict. We cannot allow this conflict to become a barrier to reform. We also cannot allow the reform to be blocked through the inefficiency of parliament, where over 25 legal documents, indispensible to the building of a new order in Poland, are waiting to be passed. These are laws no tonly for today, but also for the future. This is the correct road: to accelerate the process of transformations; to escape, but to escape forwards. What is really at stake is the alternative between reform and collapse. Ladies and gentlemen, the choice is yours.

New Chairman Elected

LD2302220691 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 23—Marian Krzaklewski was elected chairman of the Solidarity Trade Union here today, on the first day of the 3rd congress of the union.

During the third round of voting Krzaklewski received 222 votes while his opponent Lech Kaczynski collected 174 votes.

New Chairman on Goals

LD2302225291 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Interview with Marian Krzaklewski, new chairman of Solidarity Trade Union, by Andrzej Jelenski on 23 February; place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Jelenski] Good evening, Mr. Marian Krzaklewski, the new head of the Solidarity Union. Can you tell us what kind of union Solidarity will be today?

[Krzaklewski] As I said, first and foremost it must strive toward union successes, and thus it must create such formulae of union action for its activity to be effective. They will be effective when we finally get trade union legislation, a package of trade union laws. Then our activities will be systematic. They will be activities in legal categories, and at the same time we will have a clearly defined framework for our wage bargaining work, taking into consideration the superior role of the reforms in Poland and the superior role of Poland's raison d'etre. We will certainly remember that, as Solidarity at the moment continues to be the strongest anti-communist movement in Poland.

[Jelenski] But Mr. Chairman, the political and economic situation is exceptionally difficult in Poland. Thus it is difficult to talk about immediately, departing from the so-called political union (?side).

[Krzaklewski] Yes, that is just what I am saying, [to act] in those situations where the union is going to have to decide in certain political confrontations and help, so that it does not result in departing from the democratic reforms. The union will certainly then in such a situation rise to the occasion. [passage omitted]

Walesa Congratulates Krzaklewski

LD2302225891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] President Lech Walesa has telephoned his congratulations to Marian Krzaklewski [new Solidarity chairman]. It is probably proper, the president stated, that young people are replacing us older ones. I hope you will observe the Solidarity ideals, Lech Walesa added.

Majority Say Solidarity Should Be Trade Union

LD2202222691 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—A private polling centre carried out a public opinion survey yesterday asking respondents what role should the Solidarity trade union play nowadays. Over half of the respondents (58 per cent) said that above all Solidarity should be a trade union, 18 per cent of those polled were of the opinion that the union should be a broad citizens' movement.

Asked whether Solidarity should forward its own candidates during the forthcoming parliamentary elections, 42 per cent of the respondents answered yes, it should, while 30 per cent said no, but it should support other candidates.

Asked about who is a better candidate for the post of chairman of the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK), 27 per cent pointed to Zbigniew Romaszewski (a prominent Solidarity figure), while 19 per cent of those polled prefered the candidacy of Wieslawa Ziolkowska (who was once a Communist Party member.)

Walesa Proposes 26 May for Parliamentary Elections

LD2202204891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1854 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Statement by Slawomir Siwek, secretary of state in the Presidential Chancellory, at a news conference at Belweder Palace on 22 February—recorded]

[Text] Today the president presented a package of documents to Sejm Speaker Professor Kozakiewicz to enable elections to be held on 26 May. In meeting

unambiguous social expectations and demands formulated by various political groups I believe that it is my duty to participate in the process of preparing free elections. Free parliamentary elections are necessary to consummate the process of building the democratic structures of our state. The internal situation and the voice of the international public require this. Our participation within European institutions depends on it. It is also a condition for stabilizing the political situation within our country.

As a result of numerous consultations I have reached the conclusion that the optimal date for holding the elections is 26 May this year. To go beyond this date would, in practice, necessitate putting them off until late autumn, with all the ensuing negative consequences of this decision. Directed by the interests of the state I appeal to the esteemed House to consider my initiative. I am convinced that the deputies, bearing in mind the good of Poland and the will of the electorate, will contribute to this acceleration of work on the new electoral law in order to finally complete it by the first half of March this year.

Draft Electoral Law Submitted for Consideration

LD2202230591 Warsaw PAP in English 2029 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—In his letter to the Sejm (Lower House) Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, President Lech Walesa suggested that parliamentary elections could be held on May 26.

Apart from the letter the president sent also a draft of "the electoral law to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland", journalists were told during a press conference of the secretary of state at the president's Chancellery, Slawomir Siwek, at the Belvedere Palace here today.

While commenting on this, the press spokesman for the president, Andrzej Drzycimski said that the president's decision was prompted by a very grave situation in Poland. "Political structures are out-dated and do not match European standards. The growing impoverishment of population leads to the severe social tensions. The president wants to fulfil his pre-electoral pledges and suggests May 26, as the feasible date for elections," he said.

The draft of the electoral law, which was prepared by the team of lawyers from the president's Chancellery, comes out in favour of the majority-proportional system of elections in which 230 deputies would be elected in one-seat districts by the majority of votes and another 230 deputies would be those from the national lists of candidates set up according to the number of votes given for individual lists across Poland.

Bielecki Discusses Debts, Investments

AU2502092291 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 22-23 Feb 91 p 5

[Markus Ziener report: "Warsaw Counts on Remission of Debts and Liberalization of the Investment Law"]

[Text] Warsaw—As long as Poland's debt problems have not been solved comprehensively, foreign investors will refrain from getting involved in the country's activities. At the same time, however, a loosened investment law is to additionally ease the conditions for foreign investors. This was stated by Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki in a talk with HANDELSBLATT.

At the moment Poland has a total of about $46 billion in debts abroad; of that $29 billion is with Western governments and more than $8 billion is with Western banks. The liabilities toward the German Government and German banks, the largest creditors, amount to about 16 billion German marks. In the negotiations with the Paris Club, Poland is trying to get a reduction of its debts by 80 percent.

The still existing uncertainties about the treatment of Polish debts are visibly influencing the readiness of foreign countries to invest in Poland, Bielecki said. The sums that were invested in Poland last year were "dramatically small," the head of government stated. In 1990 Western companies invested only $10 million in Poland. The prime minister now firmly expects that the Paris Club will make a final decision on the topic of Poland's debts by the end of March.

While Bielecki hopes that a generous remission of debts would constitute a clear, positive signal from abroad, a new investment law is to improve the framework conditions for foreign investors in Poland. It will replace the January 1990 law on economic activities involving the participation of foreigners.

The draft law, which will be presented to the Council of Ministers soon, envisages that profits may be completely transferred abroad. Profits in zlotys may be exchanged at the Polish foreign currency bank into hard currencies and may be transferred without permit. So far, only profits from exports have been permitted to be freely transferred. If the draft law comes into force, this would also make obsolete the planned step-by-step transfer of profits, which was supposed to be raised by 15 percent every year.

In Bielecki's view, the new law shows more flexibility and demands fewer bureaucratic formalities. Thus, the establishment of or participation in companies in Poland no longer requires any permit. Areas such as transportation, energy, real estate, and mining, among others are exceptions . It is also new that foreigners may acquire shares in already existing companies.

In contrast to the current law, which provides for three years of tax exemption, the draft does not envisage

automatic exemption. The finance minister may grant exceptions, if the value of the investment exceeds 2 million ecu [European Currency Unit] or if the project involves production companies, construction and assembly companies, or the establishment of regional telecommunication facilities. The exemption applies only if shares have been bought or a company has been founded by 31 December 1993. All other companies are subject to a 30-percent income tax. The same tax has to be paid on the wages and salaries of foreign employees.

The planned association of his country with the EC opens up new markets for Poland and the opportunity to quickly adjust to the conditions posed by the EC. With a view to Poland's domestic economy, Bielecki said that the experiences with the privatization of the first five state enterprises have shown that fundamental changes can only be achieved very slowly. Therefore, the process of transformation must be accelerated considerably. Smaller companies must be transformed into other legal forms more quickly and must be sold; management buy-outs, such as have occurred in one of the five transformed companies, must be promoted. Bielecki sees another method in transferring state companies to small private companies with limited liability by way of leasing. However, in any case the precondition for the success of privatization is the existence of a capital market in Poland. The head of government expects the Warsaw stock exchange to be opened by the end of June 1991. Parliament has already been presented with draft laws that are to grant the investors protection of their investments. "The investors must have confidence that their money is safe in our country."

Bielecki thinks that parliamentary elections are indispensable and should be held "as quickly as possible," but at the earliest in May. New dangers have been visible for some weeks in the political scene. Thus, the former communist camp—partly under the cover of trade unions—is experiencing a rebirth. This group calls for the protection of the state sector, which comprises more than 80 percent of the Polish economy. These demands cannot be made compatible with the transformation of the country into a market economy. Since, however, 65 percent of the deputies in Parliament are still deputies of the former Communist Party or its bloc parties—this arrangement was negotiated by the government and the opposition at the roundtable in 1989—it is very difficult to quickly pass laws that are oriented toward a market economy.

"Today we have a completely new situation," Bielecki said. Last year it was sometimes easier to cooperate with the then rationally acting communists—for instance, in 1990 in passing the privatization law—than it is today with representatives of Solidarity. Now, however, former members of the Communist Party are putting themselves at the head of dissatisfied workers and partly use arguments of the successful surprise candidate Tyminski from the past presidential election campaign.

Bielecki admitted that the lead in time that Poland had compared with the other East European countries because of its early democratization has largely been lost: "While last year we were far ahead of time with our parliament, even though it was formed artificially, today it is proving to be a burden." Transformation in some fields was not carried out with sufficient pragmatism, and the wrong methods were used. In particular during the second half of 1990 there were some wrong developments in economic policy.

Thus, in the view of Bielecki, who is a member of the Liberal Democratic Congress, monetary policy should have been guided more strictly. The fact that even after 16 months hardly any large companies have gone bankrupt in Poland is an indication that the measures have not been effective to the desired extent. Therefore, the head of government wants to stick to the disputed penalty tax for above-average wage raises. The law provides that companies may compensate only 60 percent of price increases in the country through higher wages.

While working people and trade unions say that the tax strangles motivation for work, Bielecki and his Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz think that wage control is an indispensable instrument to combat inflation. An inflation rate of 12 percent, as in January, is unacceptable in the long run, Bielecki said. The replacement of National Bank President Wladyslaw Baka is also to be seen against the background of a stricter monetary policy in the future.

The closer economic cooperation between Poland, the CSFR, and Hungary that was agreed on last week has the goal of "more cooperation than competition." A regional exchange that functions well "best proves our ability to integrate ourselves in a united Europe," Bielecki said. There is, however, no doubt that Poland's route to Europe leads through Germany. The comprehensive treaty between the two countries will be signed in March, in Bielecki's view. The prime minister also expects that in March compulsory visas for Poles who travel to Germany will be abolished.

Solidarity '80 Leader Says Membership Increasing

LD2202231291 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Szczecin, Feb 22—"Solidarity '80 is the only union whose ranks are currently increasing. There are over 400 shop-level commissions and new ones are being created each day," leader of Solidarity '80 Marian Jurczyk said during a press conference here today. Speaking about membership, Jurczyk did not give any national figures, but he did point to the fact that the persistent rejection, almost for a year now, of the registration of his union limits to a certain degree the development of the union.

Asked about possible participation of Solidarity '80 in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, Jurczyk said that he would not run for a deputy's seat as he would like to concentrate on unionist work rather than a strictly political job.

Solidarity '80 is a breakaway group which claims it genuinely sticks to the ideals of the Solidarity trade union from the time Solidarity was born in August 1980.

Soviet Consul Explains Troop Transit

LD2202220891 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 22—After a visit to Szczecin of the commander of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army, General Viktor Dubynin, Soviet Consul General Nikolai Panasyutin told journalists about the details of the evacuation of Soviet troops from the Szczecin Garrison and the transit of the troops stationed in Germany via Poland.

According to earlier information released by Dubynin, the Szczecin garrison will be evacuated by the end of August this year but the future location was not mentioned.

Speaking about the transit of Soviet troops from Germany, the consul general said that the transit could proceed by four railway routes, with the total of 11,000 trains, and two motorways, 3,000 columns made up of 200 vehicles each.

The USSR is ready to pay dlrs. 16,000 for each train transport and dlrs. 280 for each car. Poland has agreed to only one road transit route in the north of Poland from Kolbaskowo via Malbork to Kaliningrad.

Apart from this, the USSR would pay Poland dlrs. one billion for the reconstruction of roads, the consul said.

Government Reaches Agreement With IMF

LD2402132891 Warsaw PAP in English 1204 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—Poland and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have reached an initial agreement under which Poland may receive a total of over two billion dollars within the next three years to support her restructuring programme.

The draft agreement will be shortly analysed in detail by the Polish Government and the IMF management, and the final decisions on its signing will be taken by the Polish Government and IMF board, Stefan Kawalec, general director in the Polish Finance Ministry has announced.

The talks held by IMF mission in Warsaw on this new agreement with Poland, this time for the years 1991-1993, wound up today after several negotiating weeks.

Ceontea Resigns as Vatra Romaneasca President

AU2402203491 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Senator Radu Ceontea today announced his resignation from the position as president of Vatra Romaneasca Union. He said that his decision was due to disagreement with a number of leading members of the Union, who did not observe existing statutory provisions in their relations with other organizations, particularly with the National Salvation Front.

FSN Meeting Stresses Need for 'Decent Dialogue'

AU2302203491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1728 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1991—The Transylvanian zonal convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN] took place at Tirgu Mures, on February 23. The participants included the delegates appointed in the county conventions for the national convention of the National Salvation Front, FSN senators and deputies, the prefects and deputy prefects, leaders of the trade unions and youth, as well as invited guests from the counties of Alba, Bihor, Bistrita-Nasaud, Brasov, Cluj, Covasna, Harghita, Hunedoara, Maramures, Mures, Satu Mare, Salaj and Sibiu. The Transylvanian national convention of the National Salvation Front devoted its debates to establishing the options as to the social-democratic programmatic orientation of the party. Numerous proposals were advanced in that connection for extending the draft statute and the platform program, that will be submitted for approval to the national convention. The works emphasized the support of the participant county organizations to the general program of the government and to the reform, emphasizing the necessity of the social dialogue, of the negotiations for the promotion of the interests of all social categories, the guaranteeing of the actual exercising of the civic rights and freedoms, in close correlation with the strict observance of the law. At the close of the proceedings, Petre Roman took the floor. In his capacity as FSN leader and prime minister, he enlarged on the current economic, political and social situation of Romania, highlighting the tasks and targets of the FSN now and in future, as a ruling party.

The zonal convention endorsed a communique showing that the only sovereignty for which the FSN fights is that of the unitary Romanian national state, consolidated and promoted by the activity of the legally constituted democratic institutions. From that angle, referring to the inter-ethnic relations in Transylvania, it reiterates the position of firmly combating any form of chauvinism, irredentism and extremism, of promoting the decent dialogue, the coexistence and good understanding between Romanians and the national minorities, and comprises proposals for the removal of the causes that still generate tension in some counties in Transylvania.

The convention highlighted the necessity to achieve a political equilibrium which is absolutely necessary for the building of a congenial climate for the implementation of the reforms that should facilitate the passage to the market economy starting from the reality that the reconstruction of the civil society is not possible in the absence of a rebuilt social structure.

Covasna AC on Need for Trust With Hungarians

AU2202154591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Feb 91 p 5

[Statement by the Covasna Civic Alliance; place and date not given: "For a Civilian Society and Against Discord"]

[Text] In formulating its program of action, the Coordinating Committee of the Civic Alliance [AC] of Covasna began with the specific situation in our county. The Romanian and Hungarian members of this branch have found in the CA program the best and most effective form of cooperation to achieve a civil society that will guarantee a genuine democratic framework for the affirmation of basic human rights.

The Covasna Civic Alliance was born out of the pressing need for communication and trust between Romanians and Hungarians. In response to the numerous attempts to sow enmity and discord, which have created a distorted and false image about facts in our county, we believe that the Romanian public has to be informed correctly about the kind of relations that exist between Romanians and Hungarians, so that the public is no longer misled about such false threats as the country's split and alienation. We are interested in cooperation with the other branches throughout the country and abroad from which we demand support in order to activate Romanian public opinion and involve it in our efforts to achieve national reconciliation.

The Covasna Civic Alliance will cooperate with all institutions, organizations, and parties interested in supporting the efforts to build a civil society in which relations between human beings are based on a constructive and civilized dialogue. Being directly interested in the democratization of political and social life, it will support initiatives aimed at economic and cultural social restructuring.

Out of respect for the ideals that unite us and regard for those who kindled the flame of our hopes, the Covasna Civic Alliance will oppose all attempts to denigrate and desecrate figures who have become symbols of our resistance against the recrudescence of communist practices.

The example of tolerance and solidarity set by Timisoara strengthens our hope that understanding and communication are possible when one sets out from mutual respect and common ideals.

Covasna Civic Alliance

Communique on Army Carrying Out Railway Activity

AU2202193491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/2/1991—In keeping with the law of organization and functioning of the Ministry of National Defense, the Army is bound to ensure the application of the laws, decrees and decisions of the government, but in the particular case of the mentioned strike, no such legal act was elaborated as to entitle the Ministry of National Defense to apply measures for general or partial mobilization of the personnel carrying on activity with the railways, shows a communique of the Ministry of National Defense given to ROMPRES for release, in connection with an article in daily AZI of February 22, 1991 which accredited the idea of the Army's assuming the responsibility to intervene with its power of organization, experts and manpower in order to keep the country's economic life running at a given moment, with direct reference to the difficulties caused in railway transport by the recent strikes of the railway workers under the Iasi and Timisoara Regional Railway Departments. [sentence as received]

In its organizational structure, the communique shows, the Ministry of National Defense also has units specializing in railway transport, that can ensure the building and maintenance of the rails and specific means for the traffic safety, but it does not have personnel trained in all specialties that may integrally take over the attributions of the railway workers.

The Army, as it proved also in other dramatic circumstances for the country and the people, for the national economy, will do in future too its duty of honor, strictly observing the laws in force and thus meaning to contribute to the consolidation of the state of law in Romania.

Ex-PCR Members' Trial Continues; Tape Heard

AU2202194091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1713 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/2/1991—As part of the investigation in the trial of the former members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [PCR] Executive Political Committee, the Bucharest Military Territorial Court ruled the hearing in public session of the tape recording of the December 17, 1989 teleconference that followed after the Executive Political Committee meeting of that day, and of the one held on December 20, 1989 evening, after Ceausescu's return from the visit to Iran. The use of that evidence disclosed the full concordance of content of the magnetic tape recording with that of the shorthand and type records taken during the two teleconferences, that are kept in the file of the case. It results that the December 17, 1989 teleconference started with a briefing made by Ceausescu in connection with the situation in Timisoara. He maintained that reactionary elements, supported by imperialist, revisionist circles from the East and the West, worked for the country's destabilization, for the destruction of socialism, against Romania's independence, sovereignty and integrity. After that introduction, stressing that in Timisoara the order-keeping forces were rendered inefficient, Ceausescu ordered: "All troops shall immediately receive war ammunition. All military units shall be under alert and receive combat ammunition. State of necessity shall be declared. All units of the Ministry of the Interior, the troops of Securitate and the frontier guards shall receive combat weapons and bullets. Anyone trying to penetrate by force in the headquarters of party and state bodies, institutions, commercial units, anyone attacking the order-keeping forces shall be given immediate riposte, with no justification".

Asking then Radu Balan, former first secretary of the Timis County, and Ion Coman what was the situation in Timisoara, the latter promptly answered: "Shooting has already started". Upon Ceausescu's saying that "Order has to be reestablished in Timisoara within the hour", and upon his request that the result be immediately reported to him, Ion Coman stressed: "I report, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, once more, I have ordered fire".

After saying that the group of generals that had gone to Timisoara in the afternoon of December 17, 1989, should be urgently summoned to the headquarters of the Timis County Party Committee and work there, Ceausescu turned to Coman again: "You are acting in my behalf. Take over the command, give orders in my behalf and report to me on the situation every fifteen minutes".

At the December 20, 1989 teleconference, Ceausescu demanded again that all means be employed, the only way to take being the firm fight and the breaking of the reactionary forces and of the country's enemies. "Only one thing has to be understood now, whoever breakers the order, upsets the quiet must be given firm riposte", he concluded.

Foreign Minister Comments on Visit to Madrid

AU2202222791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2024 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/2/1991—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase returned home on February 22 after a visit paid to Madrid, over February 20-22. In a statement to the press he assessed the visit as extremely useful, first of all as it enabled him to attend the Council of Europe's extraordinary session, Romania being represented officially in such a session for the first time now, and also as it was an opportunity to establish new contacts with foreign ministers of European countries. He recalled in this context the interviews with the foreign ministers of Germany, Hungary, the USSR, Norway, Austria and Bulgaria.

Then, Minister Nastase said: "In Spain, I took advantage of my 24-hour sojourn to have other interviews as well.

For instance, I met with a group of Romanians living in Spain. Also, and I make a point of stressing it, I had the honor of being received by King Juan Carlos, who gave me the opportunity to outline some of the developments in Romania. In an extremely nice and amicable conversation, I had a very fine opportunity to tell his majesty about what happens in our country on a social and political plane. I consider that this call is also an extremely positive signal for the stage and level of the political relations between Romania and Spain.

Referring to the interview with his Hungarian counterpart, Geza Jeszenszky, Minister Nastase assessed it as very open. "I, he stated, "told him what are the things which we, in Romania are reserved about. I referred to certain attitudes and statements, to his address in the Geneva Human Rights Commission, to other aspects which we consider not to be constructive in the relation we wish to have, a relation of good neighborliness with Hungary, Minister Nastase said. I equally stressed that there are certain achievements which, step by step, could lead to certain changes of mind, to a positive course in the bilateral relations. Among other things, it is about the agreement on the opening of cultural centers in Bucharest and Budapest, the experts' negotiations on the open sky being held in Budapest, as well as the negotiations to be conducted soon on consular matters. So, there are certain concrete positive elements, which, to our opinion, could be taken utmost advantage of, could be better used, in order to give a positive turn to a relation that is absolutely necessary between neighbors. So, the dialogue as such was open and sincere. As usual, both I and Minister Jeszenszky stated very directly our viewpoints. It is not abnormal that we do not agree on some things, but I think this is precisely the role of the diplomatic meetings, to progress, slowly but in an urbane manner, toward a European-type relation" Minister Adrian Nastase concluded.

European Parliament Endorses Cooperation Agreement

AU2202194291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Strasbourg, ROMPRES, 22/2/1991—The European Parliament endorsed on Friday [22 February] the commercial and cooperation agreement signed last year by the European Economic Community with Romania. The agreement, which was endorsed by open vote, spans a period of five years and stipulates the elimination of most of the restrictions imposed on the commerce with Romania, as well as the granting of the MFN status. It also provides for the expansion of the cooperation in power engineering, education, tourism and banking system, the associated press reports.

A previous motion to postpone the vote until March was overruled, the AP mentions.

U.S. Dollar Worth 225 Lei on Money Market

AU2102183691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1717 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1991—As a new step in the introduction of market mechanisms meant to establish the real value of the leu (Romania's national currency) and in accordance with a government resolution, the money market opened four days ago in Bucharest under the sponsorship of the National Bank. Bidding operations for the leu are for the moment open only to economic agents (Romanian trade companies and autonomous units) that are free to sell or buy lei for dollars through the agency of authorized commercial banks. Trade companies with foreign capital are also admitted as Romanian juristic persons. Exchange rate yesterday was of 225 lei for one dollar.

Bank laws, still subject to debates in Parliament, will allow the National Bank to extend currency exchange operations to natural persons.

At the same time, the official exchange rate of 35 lei for one dollar is still in force. It applies to half of the value of exports made by economic agents, the amounts resulting therefrom being used to rebuild the country's hard currency reserve and cover part of the imports, which is likely to ease inflation pressures.

According to a statement made by Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank of Romania, in the February 21 copy of daily "ADEVARUL," the bank has a different attitude to the two exchange rates of the leu: It is keeping the official one within certain limits, while making the necessary provisions for the normal unfolding of exchange and bidding operations. He appreciates that the opening of the money market is "a crucial step toward convertibility of the national currency and an important moment of the reform and the passage to a market economy." Option in that direction was made after consulting IMF and World Bank experts. Effects of this step, different and complex as they may be, are generally estimated as positive, since they favour a state of equilibrium.

Belgrade Radio Appraises Sarajevo Talks

AU2402185991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Djordje Vlajic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" Program]

[Text] The atmosphere of expectation before the Sarajevo presidency session was perhaps best illustrated by a remark made by a journalist after several hours of waiting in the Academy and Science building which is very near the palace where members of the presidency and the presidents of the Yugoslav republics or the republican presidencies were holding a meeting. The remark was: While those closed inside are negotiating, it could happen that the republics elect new leaderships. It is obvious from these words of impatience that people want the Yugoslav political agony to be stopped and the crisis finally resolved.

Compared with the situation before the negotiations, the economic situation in Yugoslavia is worse. The economy is experiencing a collapse, nobody has money, and therefore nobody is paying anybody anything. Workers are waiting for their salaries several months, while the pensions are paid out with long delays.

The social situation is considerably more tense. The atmosphere of expectation was also visible in the streets of Sarajevo. Friends were meeting each other with questions such as: Is there anything new? Is anything known yet?

Vis-a-vis expectations of some results after five rounds of talks between the republics is a warning made several times since the negotiations started in the presidency: One must not expect a turnabout and a quick denouement of the political crisis in Yugoslavia because the views on the future of Yugoslavia are diametrically opposed and mutually exclusive. This means that the negotiations will last a long time. It is quite certain that during this time we will live increasingly worse and that at the end we will all be worse off. The Sarajevo talks have produced something, however, the previous talks did not. Perhaps the economic deterioration and the increase in social tensions resulted in the leaders of the Yugoslav federal units agreeing that, while they are holding negotiations about the political future of Yugoslavia, it is necessary to ensure the minimum functioning of the Yugoslav federation. This is also obvious from the communique issued from the presidency session that states, among other things, that it is necessary that the Federal Executive Council present the SFRY Assembly with coordinated draft bills as soon as possible to avoid more serious consequences and ensure normal conditions for the denouement of the political crisis.

This virtually means that Markovic's government was asked to find money abroad, because it evidently does not exist at home. It is known that the rapidly developing political crisis in Yugoslavia led the world to take a stand toward it as if it were a closed box, to suspend financial aid—the IMF has frozen negotiations— and, in the political sphere, to prevent frictions in Yugoslavia from spreading to the neighboring countries. The task given to Markovic could lead one to the conclusion that he has benefited most. One could say that his program has been endorsed again.

One could also view all this in a different way, as resorting to the trump card in a political impasse. Ensuring the federation's minimum functioning and trying to find money abroad, I would say, is more of an attempt to ensure social peace than of shifting anything in political relations among the Yugoslav republics, or resolving something essential in the economy.

Therefore, we are trying to secure time for political negotiations, time during which the economy will not collapse and social tensions will not reach the boiling point.

Something else has also become clear after Sarajevo: The end of a federal Yugoslavia is almost certain. This was, after all, confirmed by Bosnian Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic at a news conference after the presidency session. He said that the Yugoslav federal state has virtually ceased to exist. It appears that the two concepts, the asymmetric and federal concepts, could only be reconciled with the disappearance of federal Yugoslavia.

The talks are now being held from the positions of republics and not the peoples who constitute Yugoslavia and who live in it. It is also uncertain whether one can reach an agreement on an asymmetric state community at all. In contrast to this, it is certain that we have found ourselves at the same point of disputes where we were when the idea of an asymmetric federation appeared.

Session on Working Group, Separation Procedure

LD2202200891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—President Boris Jovic presided over today's SFRY Presidency session held in Sarajevo. Taking part were the president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], vice-president of the SFRY Assembly, and all the presidents of the republics, that is the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces.

In today's debate on the political future of the country more precise details were established of the stances of individual republics on the basis of the agreement at the previous session of the SFRY Presidency. There was a higher degree of global clarification of the positions of individual republics, which remain significantly different.

On the basis of the discussion and the views and stances presented by all participants, and with the aim of further reconciling stands, it was concluded that before the next session of the SFRY Presidency with the same composition to be held on 1 March in Belgrade, a special working

group of experts to include one representative of each republic should draw up an outline of the content of the most important relations in the future Yugoslav state community. Moreover, it was agreed that the SFRY Presidency should propose for the next session a constitutional and legal procedure for separation from Yugoslavia in a constitutional and consensual manner. Great importance was placed on the republics agreement and adoption of a law in the SFRY Assembly on realizing the functions of the Federation and the functioning of the state until the achievement of an agreement on the political future of the country. A statement released at the session's conclusion stated it is essential to give priority to the further coordination of stances and for the FEC to present coordinated proposals for the law to the National Assembly, to avoid more serious consequences for the country as a whole and to ensure the conditions for a normal resolution of the political crisis.

Executive Leaders Discuss Federation Crisis

LD2002185291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic, Executive Council presidents of Bosnia-Hercegovina Jure Pelivan, of Macedonia Gligorie Gogovski and of Croatia Josip Manolic, in a Croatian TV program—"Agreement or Separation"—that was broadcast last night, spoke in favor of a democratic dialogue in the search for ways out of the Yugoslav crisis. In the two-and-a-half-hour live program, which focused on the "Federation functioning during the transitory period," they expressed their conviction that such a dialogue could yield solutions for coexistence in Yugoslavia.

Ante Markovic dwelled on the proposed FEC measures and activities to ensure that the federation functions in the transitory period. Before an agreement on the future of the country is reached, Markovic stressed, the federal government has opted for the logic of interest, a modern democratic legislature and market system. According to him, implementing macroeconomic policy is emphasized. Continuing the reform will provide time to reach a political agreement on the future of the country. Therefore, Markovic said in conclusion, the FEC proposal should be adopted because it contains the basis of a future agreement.

According to the Croatian prime minister the central issue is resolving the political crisis in Yugoslavia and then achieving economic recovery. In his opinion it is impossible to speak about the perspectives of economic reform before the political crisis in Yugoslavia is resolved.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council President Jure Pelivan expressed his principled support for the FEC program and Bosnia-Hercegovina's readiness to negotiate. At the same time Pelivan called on the SFRY Presidency and the republican presidencies to take a step forward at the forthcoming Sarajevo SFRY Presidency session, which all Yugoslav nations expect.

Macedonian Executive Council President Gligorie Gogovski favors reaching an agreement on the future of Yugoslavia as soon as possible. In the meantime we should adopt the FEC document, with corrections that are being discussed at the moment, to achieve an uninterrupted process of material production and normal life in Yugoslavia, Gogovski concluded.

Federal Assembly Postpones Law Package

LD2102232591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav legislature has postponed until next week the adoption of a whole package of laws which the federal government has offered as a condition for the functioning of the federation until an agreement on the new organization of the country is reached, as the government itself withdrew seven of the eleven proposed laws in order to be further worked out.

The package of laws should have been adopted under summary proceedings today but the federal government unexpectedly asked that the adoption of seven laws be postponed in order for them to be brought "in line with the talks which will soon be conducted with the representatives of the republics."

Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minster Zivko Pregl said that "the postponement could contribute to the better functioning of the federation."

The adoption of another two "military laws," on national defence and military service, was postponed today, because a group of deputies from Slovenia asked that they be adopted under separate proceedings.

The Slovenian deputies in the federal legislature said that the two proposed "military" laws are unacceptable as they are "in opposition to the interests and legal order of Slovenia." Under the law, as they set out, the "constitutional right of the republic to organize and lead its territoral defence" has been abolished.

The territorial defence of the republics, according to the federal constitution, is a part of the armed forces of Yugoslavia, while the commander of the country's armed forces is the state presidency.

A deputy today asked that the federal government prepare a reply for the next session of what yesterday's decision of the Slovenian legislature on the republic's exclusion from the constitutional order of Yugoslavia will mean for the functioning of the country's legal and political system.

The Croatian legislature today decided that some federal laws and regulations will not be valid in Croatia if they are not in line with the republican constitution.

Executive Council Insists on Budget Contributions

LD2102235791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2117 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—At its session today, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic acuainted himself with the current phase in the implementation of the agreement with representatives of the republics on the federation's functioning in the transitional period.

The FEC assesses—as its statement from the session says—that not only is there no respect for what had already been agreed upon on earlier occasions, but also some republics pass decisions that directly hamper the federation's functioning and a peaceful solution to the crisis. Thus despite a provisional agreement, reached at the meeting of the FEC president with the presidents of the republican governments and executive councils, the repayment of debts, amounting to 5.5 billion dinars for 1990 alone, owed to the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] has not yet begun. The largest debtors are Serbia (1.8 billion dinars), Croatia (1.7 billion), and Slovenia (over 1 billion).

Due to the lack of incoming funds the situation in the Army is critical (for example, the JNA owes large sums to its suppliers and some of the food suppliers refuse to supply the JNA because they have not received any payments from it for up to two months), and the FEC has already been forced to redirect a part of the budgetary funds earmarked for other purposes to the JNA and to take out a short-term loan with the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

As far as the contributions stemming from 1991 obligations to the federal budget are concerned, Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia are sticking to their earlier decisions, that is, the first two are paying in only import duties while Serbia is also paying a 50 percent of its turnover tax in addition to import duties. The other republics and provinces have by and large heeded the agreement that as of 18 February their conributions to the federal budget should be paid in on a regular basis.

The FEC cautions that, if the practice of violating regulations and disregarding pre-set agreements continues, the country will soon find itself in an inescapable economic and political situation that cannot be in the interest of either the country as a whole or its parts, the statement of the FEC Information Secretariat concludes.

Federal Measures Outlined on Armed Groups

LD2202091791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber assesses that the decisions of the SFRY Presidency and the activities of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] aimed at disarming and disbanding all armed groups outside the Armed Forces of the SFRY and the entities of public order and peace are in accordance with the Constitution of the SFRY and federal laws.

The federal services and the JNA, in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, are obliged to prevent resolutely and without exception in every part of the territory of Yugoslavia the illegal arming and formation of armed groups outside the regular Armed Forces and services of public order and peace, irrespective of whether they are formed as organized units, on a party or national basis, or as groups of citizens.

These measures must be urgently implemented to calm and remove the interethnic and inter-republican mistrust, tension, fear, and conflicts between nations, the damage to the international reputation of the country, and to resolve in peaceful conditions and in a legal and democratic manner the crisis situation in the country.

The Federal Chamber stresses that all competent state services in the country, in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and laws, are obliged to work to prevent the illegal importation of arms, their distribution on the basis of national and political affiliation, and the creation, within the framework of individual parties, of illegal paramilitary armed forces, because this gives rise to the immediate danger of large-scale interethnic conflicts with unforeseeable consequences for the security of citizens and the sovereignty and integrity of the country. The Federal Chamber calls for all persons responsible for the illegal importation and distribution of arms, the creation of illegal paramilitary forces, and for committing other acts punishable by law, to be answerable in accordance with the law. Therefore, the close cooperation of the federal, republican, and provincial services is essential.

The Federal Chamber will, at its next session, form a commission to examine the possible accountability of the federal services, or officials in charge of their work, for the illegal importation of arms into Yugoslavia.

Bearing in mind the complexity, severity, and ambiguity of the situation in the country, the uncoordinated independence processes of republics that are underway, and the fact that some pronounced elements of statehood, such as the worrying degree of general armament in the present national divisions and the conflicts of differing interests that could lead to armed conflicts, and considering the determination of all to overcome the situation in a peaceful, legal, and democratic manner, the Federal Chamber calls on the assemblies of the republics and provinces to do the following:

—Consider all instances of illegally armed units in their republic or province, or those that are getting armed and organized, and take resolute measures against the illegally armed units on their territories.

—Create, by decisions and activities, a climate of mutual trust by the peoples, nationalities, and republics, thus helping the talks on Yugoslavia's future structure unfold more quickly.

—The Federal Chamber duty-bounds the Federal Executive Council and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to take necessary measures to provide federal services with the agreed degree of uniform functions in the Yugoslav securiy system and to suggest, if need be, to the SFRY Assembly that the assembly adopt necessary regulations to ensure the functioning of this system.

Competent state services are duty-bound to commit themselves to activities aimed at banning political parties that organize or use armed formations to exercise their political orientations and achieve their aims.

The Federal Chamber duty-bounds the Committee for Human Rights to examine all cases of threatening human, civil, national, and other rights and freedoms, proceeding from the international documents and conventions adopted by the SFRY and bearing in mind that the state as a collective body cannot substitute individual freedom, peace, safe living, and man's welfare.

Slovenia's Kucan Comments on Presidency Session

AU2202202091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Zdenka Bakalar report on Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan comments following State Presidency session in Sarajevo; date not given]

[Text] [Bakalar] Today's negotiations in Sarajevo started with a one hour delay. All members of the SFRY Presidency, as well as presidency presidents of the individual republics attended the session. The session itself was rather polemical; it ended just after 1800.

In a brief statement, Slovene President Milan Kucan said the stands of the individual republics came out in crystallized forms at today's session. It was shown who wants to live in one state and who advocates division [razdruzitev]. The former concept is advocated by Serbia and Montenegro and the latter by Slovenia and Croatia, whereas Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia have not yet decided, Kucan said. In fact, what is most disputable for these republics is the extent of [word indistinct] that they would transfer to the joint state.

Regarding the Slovene resolution on division, Kucan said that the situation will become clearer when all republics take stands on it. Kucan also said that the talks will continue in Belgrade on Friday [1 March] and that Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic is holding a news conference at the moment.

Sees Shift in Republic Positions

LD2302204791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2103 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan has assessed today's talks at the session of the SFRY Presidency as "a shift, because there was greater clarification of the positions of individual republics."

Slovenia reiterated its decision in favor of an independence process, but there was a considerable lack of understanding of the resolution adopted by the Slovene Assembly on Wednesday. It was interpreted, Kucan said, as an "attempt at a fait accompli," and not as a starting point for new talks on the future organization of Yugoslavia. Kucan also considers that this attitude toward the resolution will "become more rational" in time.

At this evening's news conference for domestic and foreign journalists in the Slovene Presidency, Kucan stated his judgement that there was unnecessary fear of the divisional balance sheet. This problem was real at the session, as was the issue of the so-called transitional situation. "Slovenia cannot be interested in the federal state collapsing," Kucan stressed. He said that agreement was reached on the republican legislature again initiating debate on the functioning of the federation in the transitional period.

The Federal prime minister, in Kucan's view, justifiably emphasizes the severity of the economic and social situation throughout the country, but these problems, Kucan considers, should be resolved by agreement and not with new laws.

Civil war and similar chaos were again mentioned today. Kucan said this is unnecessary.

Slovene, Croatian Parties Discuss Cooperation

AU2402143991 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 12 Feb 91 p 2

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 11 Feb—A joint statement on intentions and on the basis of the future relations between the Slovene Christian Democrats and the Croatian Democratic Community was adopted by the representatives of both parties in Zagreb today.

The purpose of cooperation is to preserve good-neighborly relations, which enable the development of all forms of cooperation concerned with freedom and prosperity of the citizens of the two republics.

To reach this goal, the parties will strive for the autonomy of their republics/states based on the protection of human rights and liberties, democracy, market economy, legal order, and mutual respect.

The parties will advocate the integrity and inviolability of borders, the respect of cultural, religious, and human rights of peoples and nationalities living in both republics/states, all this being regulated in accordance with international law.

They will also support all democratic parties in other republics of the present Yugoslavia that have it written

down in their programs that they strive for European standards of civilization and prosperity. [passage omitted]

Zagreb Protest Rally Over Virovitica Detentions

LD2402160691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—A large protest meeting, organized by the city branch of the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica], was held today in Zagreb's Ban Jelacic Square to express resolute support for the Croatian leadership in its efforts to preserve the democracy and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia and condemn the threats of military intervention.

The rally's message, sent to the command body of the Fifth Military District, demands that "the abducted and detained Croatian citizens"—Virovitica municipality officials Antun Habijanec, Djuro Decak and Vinko Belobrk—be released immediately and unconditionally. A message was also sent from the rally, which was attended by several thousand citizens of Virovitica, to the U.S. Congress and President Bush.

The large mass of people was addressed by Mayor Boris Buzancic and assembly deputies Sime Djodan, Djuro Vidmarovic, and Gordana Turic. Later, tens of thousands of participants set off on a march along the streets of the city. They stopped marching, while expressing protest, several hundred meters from the Zagreb military court in Gajeva Street, because its accesses were blocked and guarded by special units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Protest Against Army, for Spegelj in Split

LD2102232891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2239 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Split, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—Around 3,000 people demonstrated against the Yugoslav People's Army in the Yugoslav coastal town of Split, Republic of Croatia, on Thursday night.

There were no incidents in the demonstrations which were organized by the opposition Croatian Democratic Party.

Carrying candles and torches, the demonstrators protested outside the military court, the garrison command, the army club and the military district command buildings.

The demonstrators expressed their readiness to fight against the "arbitrariness, threats and arrests by the so-called Yugoslav People's Army against the Croatian people and the Republic of Croatia."

They chanted slogans, such as "We will defend Croatia", "occupiers", "we don't want Yugoslavia," "To war, to war," and "We will defend Spegelj."

Spegelj is Croatia's defence minister and an investigation against him has been launched by the Zagreb military court on suspicion that he was the chief organizer of an armed rebellion in Croatia. The court has ordered his detention, which the Croatian authorities refused to carry out.

Presidents Tudjman, Gligorov Meet in Skopje

AU2402210391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 91 pp 1,3

[TANJUG and D. Nikolic report: "Agreement by the Middle of This Year"]

[Text] Skopje—The inter-republican talks about the political future of Yugoslavia, between delegations from Croatia and the Socialist Republic [SR] of Macedonia started yesterday in the SR Macedonia's Assembly.

The Croatian delegation was led by President Franjo Tudjman, and included, among others, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stjepan Mesic, and Croatian Government President Josip Manolic. Their hosts were Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov; SFRY Presidency Member Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski; Macedonian Vice President Ljupco Georgievski; as well as Macedonian Assembly President Stojan Andov; and Macedonian Executive Council President Gligorije Gogovski.

After the talks the two presidents held a news conference at which they stated, among other things, that they believe in the future of Yugoslavia as a community of sovereign republics and that the agreement on the political organization of the country will be reached by the middle of this year.

At the news conference, Presidents Franjo Tudjman and Kiro Gligorov, stated that they believe that it is possible to reach an agreement on the future of Yugoslavia as a community of sovereign republics, which would function similarly to the EEC.

Tudjman said that the biggest problem in the talks is that all participants have to adopt the view that the republics are sovereign, and that the community can only be what they agree it should be. Tudjman stated that he told Mr. Jovic and Mr. Milosevic that the community cannot survive if someone is imposing its own will. Croatia will not impose its will on anyone, but it will also not allow its sovereignty and democracy to be threatened. That is why we are in favor of talks for the preservation of Yugoslavia, but the relations must be established democratically, as this is in everybody's interest. By the middle of this year we must know how far we came as the present situation is unbearable. This will not be the third Yugoslavia, as only a community of sovereign republics is possible.

Answering journalists' questions, Tudjman said that Spegelj and Boljkovac cannot be held responsible for the armament of Croatia, just as it is not Yugoslav People's Army duty to act as police force. Here we are talking

about an attempt to overthrow the legally elected Croatian government and to stop democratic processes in Croatia. Croatia will not permit the arrest of minister Spegelj. Tudjman said the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia is an attempt to restore real socialism, which is a historic anachronism. In Tudjman's words, the future community should have a common market, defense policy, foreign policy, currency, while the realization of sovereignty should follow the EEC example.

Gligorov emphasized that the most important thing is to start talking about the essence of the future community, and to ensure that talks are always conducte ' from the position of sovereign republics. He said the Macedonian delegation formulated four questions: the question of human rights, market economy, defense, and foreign policy. Gligorov particularly stressed that Macedonia is interested in a peaceful solution to the crisis, the preservation of the Yugoslav community, and in Macedonia becoming a member of the European Community along with other sovereign Yugoslav republics.

Answering the question about the future of the Fund for the Undeveloped, Tudjman said that this was always an ill-fated question that must be solved in a new way that will correspond to the market economy. Tudjman stressed that in the existing federation Croatia was giving 8 percent of its national income, while the colonies [as published] would only pay up to 2 percent, that one-third of the Croats left Croatia for economic reasons, and that quarter of the Zagreb burghers are still not connected to the city's water and sewage network.

Besides Yugoslavia's future, they also discussed Croatia's settlement of debts to the Macedonian economy and prospects for extending economic cooperation.

Nationalist Macedonian Party Urges Secession

LD2402090291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2229 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Skopje, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for the Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) this evening urged that the Macedonian legislature pass a resolution on the secession of the Republic from Yugoslavia.

In this way Macedonia would secure for itself a "more favourable position in negotiations on the sovereignty of the Macedonian people and provide more favourable treatment as an internationally recognized subject," sets out a statement of the party's Central Committee which met in Skopje.

VMRO-DPMNE is a strongly nationalist oriented Macedonian party. In the multi-party elections in Macedonia held late last year, the party received the majority support from the voters, but insufficient to rule on its own.

The party's demand for Macedonia to pass the resolution comes immediately after the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia this past week passed similar acts (a declaration on the "dissociation" of Yugoslav Republics), which envisages agreed disintegration but also leaves the possibility for unilateral secession if no agreement is reached.

VMRO-DPMNE rejected the proposal of "an asymmetric federation" which was set out by President of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic in an effort to reconcile the two opposed conceptions—federal and confederal, at a meeting of the Yugoslav State Presidency meeting in Sarajevo yesterday

"The existence of any kind of asymmetric Yugoslavia is an illusion and is none other than a perfidious game for achieving single-national majoritarianism in the greater part of its territory," the party statement sets out.

Gligorov on Macedonian Pressures at Session

AU2302190791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] There is hope for Yugoslavia, as long as negotiations are continued. This is what Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said today in a phone-in program carried by Skopje Television assessing yesterday's round of Yugoslav talks held in Sarajevo. According to him, the opposing stands were not brought any closer yesterday, because the leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia on the one side, and of Serbia and Montenegro on the other, have entrenched even further into their firm positions.

What is important, however, is that real negotiations and serious talks opened yesterday that should explain the right strategy and aims of both sides. For moves made between two meetings, such as the declaration on division, bring anxiety, lack of confidence, and doubt about good intentions and the will for joint life.

The uncertainty of whether or not Yugoslavia will continue to exist suits nobody and cannot last long. Pressures were exerted on us in Sarajevo to side with one or the other option. Kucan and Tudjman insisted that we sign a statement, something that we have resolutely refused, because we have some very bitter historical experiences with such signatures, dating from the times of the Cvetkovic-Macek government [prewar Yugoslav government that signed treaty with the Axis powers]. According to Macedonia's stand, joint life is possible in a community of sovereign and equal Yugoslav republics, provided this community possesses some subjectivity [subjektivitet] based on international law. If this is impossible, we do not accept an asymmetric federation and any kind of graded [stepenast] federation, or any kind of a combination of a confederation and a loose federation. In that event, the only option for Macedonia is a complete independence.

In Gligorov's opinion, the dispute between Serbs and Croats has a key importance for the solution of the

Yugoslav crisis and a sobering and an extenuation of the hard republican stands will come under the pressure of the economic crisis and the increasing social tension.

Tupurkovski on Army Film, Macedonian Sovereignty

AU2402212491 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 91 p 5

[Vesna Nikolic-Dzafo and Maristela Lucic report on the appearance of Milovan Djilas, Vasil Tupurkovski, and Ivan Zvonimir Cicak in the Sarajevo Television program "The Art of Living" on 11 February]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At the beginning of his talk, Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, stressed that the SFRY Presidency will completely disappear from the political scene if it tries to work without active participation and without respect for all of its members, that is, all parts of the country they represent. Tupurkovski explained Franjo Tudjman's absence from the last session of the state presidency [8 February] as a political gesture with which the president of the Croatian state tried to prove to us that negotiations under pressure are out of the question. Tupurkovski said this is correct because, if we are not equal in these negotiations, then the inferior participants are a priori doomed to fail. He said that he thought that it would have been much better if the session was held in Sarajevo, as it had originally been agreed.

I Did Not Know About the Film

The next question was: Does the recent rally by women have any connection with the party that calls itself the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia? Tupurkovski replied that "We understand that this movement was behind this and that it is ashamed of this action."

Tupurkovski said that the only institution in the country that could be given the attribute of supranational is the Federal Executive Council, and thus Ante Markovic.

Tupurkovski characterized the last presidency session as, among other things, an attempt to apply the same scenario that was applied at the congress at which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia disintegrated. The only thing that was different was the conclusion. Speaking of Macedonia, he said that it was not characterized by a particular dose of rationality and that this could be attributed to the fact that it is trying to cure a complex that should disappear. Macedonia is now going through an era of sovereignty that it was unable to practice in the past. Answering the question whether Macedonia has territorial pretensions, Tupurkovski said: "Yes, we have. This is the Prohor Pcinski Monastery. If there was an international arbitrage about this, we would simply prove that this is our territory. This is not very easy to prove here." All joking aside, Tupurkovski said that there will be other serious problems concerning the recognition of the Macedonian church's independence.

Regarding the film of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Tupurkovski said: "I do no think that the members of the presidency knew about the film before it was shown. Bogic Bogicevic is president of the Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order, and did not know about it. I am a member of this council, and I did not know about it. Vice President Mesic told me that he did not know about it either." [passage omitted]

Albanian-Kosovo Relations; Tirana Viewed

AU2402172391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 24 Feb 91

[Milivoje Mihajlovic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The latest unrest in Albania has also reverberated in Kosovo-Metohija. The day before yesterday, members of the leadership of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the largest party of Albanians in Yugoslavia, welcomed democratic processes in the neighboring country and expressed the hope that by setting up the presidential council and meeting some students' demands, Albania will avoid further confrontations and put a stop to undesirable currents.

The Alternative holds the view that Albania is undergoing radical changes that cannot be carried out without certain tensions.

The visit of the Kosovo Alternative, Ibrahim Rugova, to Tirana was, as stated, planned before and it only coincided with the unrest in Albania. Members of the Kosovo Alternative admitted, however, that the meetings in Tirana had the aim of finding a compromise solution with which more serious problems would be avoided. The attitude of the Kosovo-Metohija parties of Albanians toward the events on the other side of the Prokletije Mountains, although frequently expressed awkwardly, is essentially determined by the two sides' aspiration to unite Kosovo and Albania.

The leaders of the separatists movement in Kosovo-Metohija hold the view that events in Albania are being conducted under Ramiz Alia's baton. This could be used to explain the fact that Ibrahim Rugova went to visit the Democratic Party of Albania but arrived in the office of the head of the regime in Tirana. This is why the Albanian Alternative, which is supposedly fighting for democracy and against violence in Yugoslavia, on several occasions only extended support to Ramiz Alia and his methods of curbing citizens' dissatisfaction.

(?The extensively reported) meeting with Ramiz Alia will help Ibrahim Rugova to reinforce his considerably shaken political image among the Albanians in Kosovo.

The observers of events in this province take the view that the Albanians in Yugoslavia count on three possibilities:

The first is to live in a completely separate state; the second is that this state be part of a loose Yugoslav confederation, and the third, which is at the same the ultimate aim of the first two, is the unification with Albania.

All three options completely exclude the possibility of Kosovo-Metohija belonging to Serbia. Because people here think that more serious unrests in Albania will take place in March, prior to the election, there are increasingly frequent opinions that this would be the right time for the separatists' uprising in Kosovo-Metohija.

Alliance Comments on Developments

LD2302061791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Pristina, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—The representatives of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DAK), the largest political organization of ethnic Albanians in Serbia's province of Kosovo, told a news conference in Pristina on Friday that they support the democratic processes in neighbouring Albania.

DAK representatives expressed hope that the setting up of the Presidential Council and the Albanian authorities' acceptance of the demonstrators' demands would be enough to avoid a further aggravation of the situation and undesired consequences of the latest riots in Albania which broke out two days ago.

DAK representatives said they were not familiar with details of the talks between the DAK delegation and Albanian President Ramiz Alia in Tirana, or when the visit will end. They explained that the DAK delegation's visit to Tirana had been planned earlier and that it had nothing to do with the latest events in Albania.

The delegation of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo on Thursday began a visit to Tirana and, according to an Albanian television broadcast monitored in the Yugoslav border townj of Ohrid, the delegation met with President Ramiz Alia and the representatives of Albanian opposition parties.

The majority ethnic Albanian population in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, which is a part of the republic of Serbia, is satisfied with the developments in Albania, especially that bloodshed has been avoided.

Opposition circles in Pristina, close to the ruling and opposition circles in Tirana, pointed out that the events in the last few days in Albania had been prepared beforehand, to eliminate those members of the Albanian leadership which blocked democratic processes.

A reliable source in Pristina said that Albanian President Ramiz Alia personally was behind the latest events in the country and has used the pressure of the masses to more easily and quickly eliminate his opponents. Proof of this is the fact that the Army did not intervene, but took the side of the people.

Milosevic Visits Bosnia-Hercegovina Party

LD2302112191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic visited Bosnia-Hercegovina's Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka] [SDS] this afternoon, following the SFRY Presidency session. This was the first meeting between the SDS leadership and Slobodan Milosevic in Sarajevo in the framework of their regular inter-party cooperation.

SDS President Radovan Karadzic said after the talks, conducted behind closed doors, that these were a matter of regular contacts with the state of Serbia that are based on this party's program, as well as on Serbia's constitution.

The talks were also attended by Federalists Party President Dragan Djokanovic.

Karadzic repeated his party's stands on Bosnia-Hercegovina as he did not want to comment on the outcome of his talks with Milosevic and added, as he put it, that it had its federal status and would stay within the federation. He also added that in this context Bosnia-Hercegovina would have as much sovereignty as Serbia, both in relation to each other and to the federation.

Izetbegovic: 'No Single Solution' for Republics

LD2302115391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 22 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—There is no single solution for Yugoslavia. Numerous Yugoslav and foreign journalists were told this by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina presidency, in the wake of today's expanded session of the SFRY Presidency.

The advocates of the federal concept and those of the confederal one cannot reach agreement, so the only remaining option is to base this community on an asymmetrical federation or community. In Izetbegovic's view, the western republics, Slovenia and Croatia, would have loose links in this state community while the remaining four republics—Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia—would have firmer links.

A group of experts from various spheres will prepare an outline of this asymmetrical Yugoslav state community for the next session of the SFRY Presidency.

Izetbegovic stressed that today's expanded session of the SFRY Presidency had not achieved much. It was agreed, though, that the Federal Chamber should clarify its minimum needed for the federation's functioning while it was suggested to the republican assemblies to adopt it.

In this way the functioning of federal services during the transitional period would be secured. The Federal Executive Council will inform its international partners about this agreement to facilitate the continuation of international economic cooperation.

Izetbegovic's words about the asymmetrical Yugoslavia federation captured the most attention. He maintains that at the moment it is a reality. He is not sure, however, whether this future community will be called Yugoslavia. He says he believes that the representatives of the republics will probably agree on this community's elementary functions such as defense, foreign affairs, and so forth, but when asked by the journalists whether state legitimacy would belong to this community or to each indidvidual republic, Izetbegovic said that there were conflicting opinions on this issue.

Izetbegovic said that what is generally agreed upon is that force cannot be used in Yugoslavia. This can only occur in the event of our external or internal borders being threatened, if civil war breaks out. Therefore, the stand of the participants in today's talks is to carry on with the negotiations on Yugoslavia's future in a tolerant and democratic atmosphere.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Communists Change Party Name

LD2302232291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Servie in Serbo-Croatian 2058 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina no longer exists. The name of this political party with effect from this evening is the Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina [Socijalisticka Demokratska Partija Bosne i Hercegovine] [SDP BIH].

This is a decision made by delegates to the 11th congress of this political party. At the congress, which ended this evening, Nijaz Durakovic was elected chairman of the party by an overwhelming majority of delegates attending the congress. Among documents adopted by delegates this evening is the SDP BIH congress stance on the SDP BIH attitude toward the public media. This document says that the information media should contribute to the construction of democratic public opinion. Radio and television in particular should serve the public in accordance with the inalienable rights of citizens to complete and objective information. The 11th congress supports the demands of those employed in the public media for their autonomy and considers as justified their resistance toward efforts to transform the public media into the advertising instruments of narrow party interests.

People's Radical Party Chairman Resigns Post

LD2302205891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 23 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka, NRS] Chairman Veljko Guberina, officially confirmed his resignation from this post at the party's countrywide assembly today.

Others in the top NRS leadership were also dismissed from their posts. This is otherwise a reference to the wing of the party that "conducted itself" as the official (wing) and that is also registered in the register of political organizations with the Republican Secretariat for Justice in Serbia.

The party's countrywide assembly will elect a new chairman, three vice chairmen, and a main committee of 11 members.